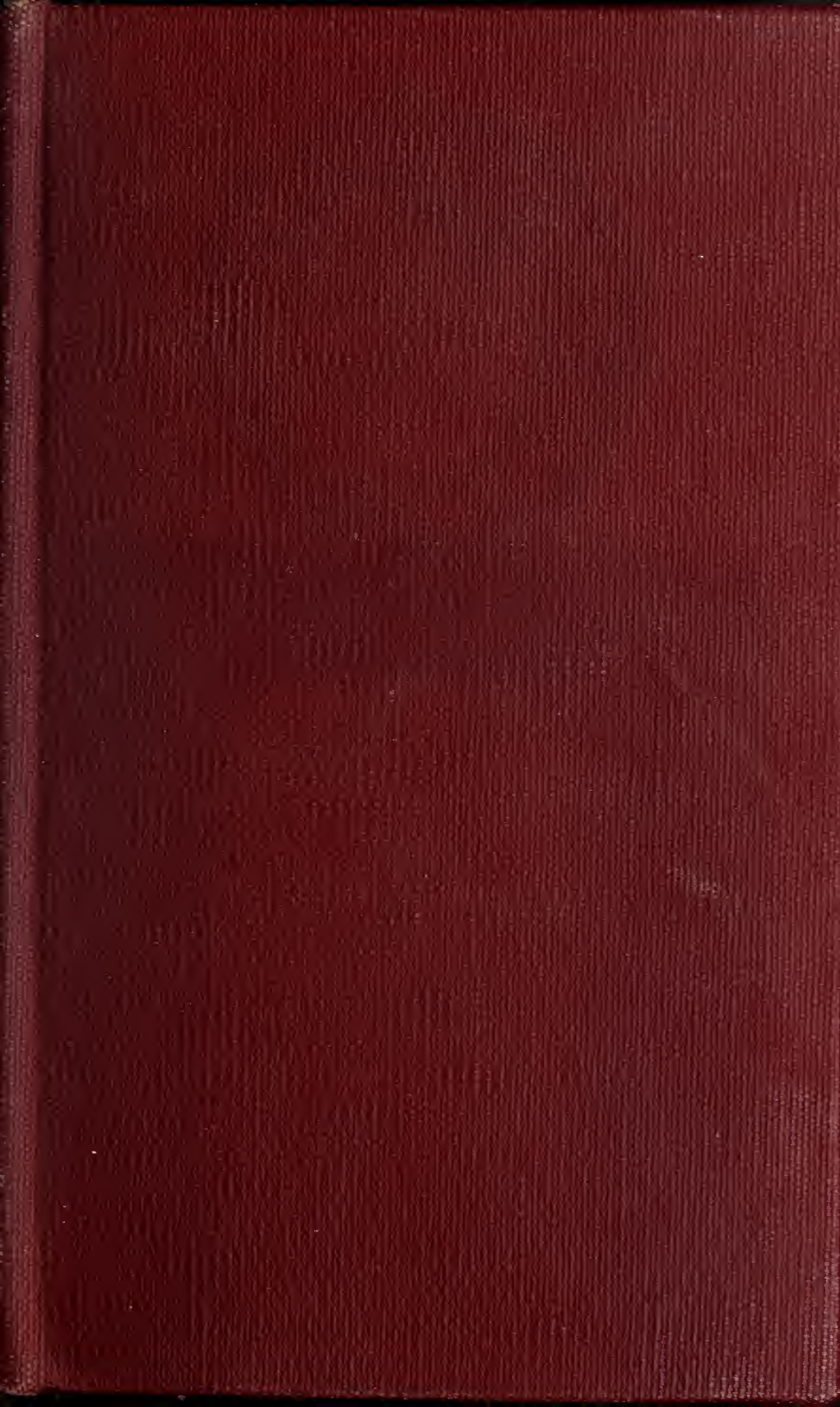






THE PURITANS

AND THEIR PRINCIPLES.



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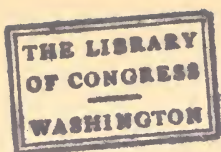
THEIR PRINCIPLES.

BY

✓
EDWIN HALL.

FOURTH EDITION.

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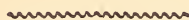
THE following Lectures were delivered to the First Congregational Society in Norwalk, Conn., in the latter part of A. D. 1843, and early in 1844. They are designed to set forth the causes which brought the PILGRIMS to these shores; to exhibit their PRINCIPLES; to show what these principles are worth, and what it cost to maintain them; to vindicate the character of the Puritans from the aspersions which have been cast upon them, and to show the PURITANIC SYSTEM OF CHURCH POLITY,—as distinguished from the Prelatic,—broadly and solidly based on the Word of God; inseparable from religious Purity and religious Freedom; and of immense permanent importance to the best interests of mankind.

In accomplishing this design, the author found it necessary to enter, to some extent and with some minuteness, upon the HISTORY of the Puritans and of their times; to trace their progress from the discovery of one important principle to another; to exhibit them in their sufferings; and to trace the Pilgrims in their wanderings, to their landing upon these then desolate shores. The matter of CHURCH POLITY the author has attempted to discuss in its fundamental principles as well as in its particular details. The claims of PRELACY he has endeavored to subject to the test of Reason, of History, and of the Word of God.

In the whole, the author has endeavored to bring together matters of information of which no descendant of the Puritans should ever be ignorant, and of which an adequate knowledge can scarcely be attained at present, without an expenditure for books, and a labor of research, beyond the means and leisure of most people in the ordinary walks of life.

JANUARY, 1846.

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I

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

Importance of this discussion at the present day. Misconceptions concerning the Puritans. Views of Hume. Principles not to be measured by the occasion which calls them into debate. Principles of the Puritans not to be appreciated without some knowledge of their times. Plan of this work. England before the times of Wickliffe.

THE PURITANS AND THEIR PRINCIPLES :—*the permanent importance of those Principles to Freedom, to true Religion, to the present and the eternal interests of Mankind!* To those who dwell amid the graves of a Puritan ancestry, these are subjects which can never be devoid of interest. Nor can I feel—believing as I do that to the principles and labors of these ancestors, under God, we owe our dearest privileges—that the memory of such fathers ought ever to go to decay among their children. I would that no one of our sons or daughters might ever be able to visit our ancient burying grounds, without feeling the blood of the Puritans coursing through their veins with honest exultation; and their souls rising to God with heartfelt gratitude for the heritage bestowed upon them, through the faith and toils of such an ancestry.

Such a discussion is the more important at the present day, when so many seem scarcely to know *what freedom is*; and so many more seem not to know *what freedom cost*; and still more, as if unconscious of the *principles from which freedom sprung*, are ready to think lightly of the motives and wisdom of that noble race of men, by whom, amid so many perils, the civil and religious rights of mankind were so nobly asserted and maintained.

There is further occasion for such a discussion at the present day, when the character of the Puritans is, in certain quarters, so studiously misrepresented, and their principles so perseveringly assailed;—while a system of *doctrine*, in all essential respects identical with that of Popery, is so fast rising and spreading in certain quarters of the Protestant world; and while the system of *Prelacy* which, for a thousand years, and on so broad a scale, has proved itself so uncongenial to the pure Gospel and to reli-

gious freedom, is now putting forth its claims with unwonted boldness, and in the most exclusive and supercilious form ;—denouncing us and our Puritan Fathers as rebels and schismatics ; our churches as no churches ; our ministers as sons of Korah Dathan and Abiram ; and all people who do not submit to some Prelatical Hierarchy, as out of the pale of Gospel grace, and given over, like heathen, to the uncovenanted mercies of God.

The principles of our fathers are the principles of truth and freedom : as important now as they were in the days of primitive Puritanism. They are to be maintained,—if either religious truth or religious freedom is worthy to be maintained among men. The conflicts of principle at the present day are simply the old conflicts revived. He who would find the matters now in debate, most fully set forth, and most amply as well as most ably discussed, has only to review the productions of those ancient times. The system now known as OXFORDISM, or PUSEYISM,—which many advocates of Prelacy affect to regard as one of “ THE NOVELTIES WHICH DISTURB OUR PEACE,”*—is in reality no new thing : it is nothing more nor less than that compound of Arminianism and Popery into which the English Church was fast declining in the days of “ the judicious Hooker ;” which had attained its maturity, and begun to develope its fruits under the auspices of the persecuting Laud ; and which was again rife and rampant in the days of Queen Anne and George I. It is indeed the genuine Episcopacy of the English Church in its palmyest days, as finally fixed and established under Queen Elizabeth ; and thereunto agree the *Offices*, though not the *Articles* of the English Establishment. If there is any difference between the system of those days and modern Puseyism, it is not in fundamental principles, but mainly in the more eager reaching forth of Puseyism towards Rome ; and in the more loving tones of endearment, in which its advocates hail as a true Sister, and even as a Mother, that “ MYSTERY OF BABYLON THE GREAT,” which the early British Reformers, as well as the Puritans and the Bible, abhorred as the “ MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.”

Some have conceived of the old Puritans as ignorant, turbulent, bigoted fanatics. Others have conceived of them as men of lofty attachment to principle, but of narrow and intolerant views : men of truth and daring ; men who feared God, and who had tasted deeply of the powers of the world to come,—but unsocial, all made up of sternness and gloom ; men whose austere minds were never unbent in hilarity, and whose countenances were never lighted up by a smile. Those who thus conceive of them have formed their conceptions not from the

* The Pamphlets of Bishop Hopkins.

true likeness but from a caricature. Of this no one needs anything more to convince him, than to take up what writings are left us of *John Robinson*, the Pastor of the Pilgrim Church; of *Cotton*, of *Owen*; or to take the journals of *Bradford*, or *Winthrop*; or the works of *John Howe*, the favorite chaplain of *Oliver Cromwell*: that *Howe*, from whose works Robert Hall declared that he had learned more than from any other man. These are not the productions of ignorant illiberal men. Such is not the food that ignorance, or fanaticism, or bigotry feeds upon.

By novelists and historians the Puritans have been grossly caricatured. How easily such caricatures, and even direct falsehoods, spread and gain credence, may be readily understood from the errors which we have seen spreading, even in New England, concerning the early history of our fathers. How many people in these United States, and even here in our midst, confidently believe that the famous code entitled "*The Blue Laws of Connecticut*" once had a place among the statutes of this colony? Yet our fathers knew nothing about them. They are a sheer fabrication, for which the world is indebted to "*Peters' History of Connecticut*;" the work of an Episcopal clergyman of this colony, who, in the beginning of the Revolution, sided with the enemies of his country, and fled from the indignation of his neighbors to England; where he employed his time in writing a history, so full of gross falsehoods, that the greatest charity can imagine nothing better in its defence than to suppose it was not intended to be believed. Yet there were men in New Haven, who, as late as the year 1829, published an edition of that work, "with such affirmation in the preface, as would lead all who are without other sources of information, to believe that what it contains, is irrefragable truth."*

To this caricature of the Puritans, no one has contributed more effectually than the historian Hume. He spares no pains to stigmatize them as "zealots," whose "principles" appear "frivolous," and whose "habits" were "ridiculous." Yet Hume is compelled to declare,—what the course of history would have developed, even had he not declared it,—that "*the precious spark of liberty had been kindled by the Puritans alone*," and that it is to them that "*the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution*." With regard to the particular events,—the secondary causes,—which introduced the principles of freedom into the British Constitution,—to which, in spite of the boasted Magna Charta of King John, freedom was an entire stranger up to the dynasty of the Stuarts,—with regard to these secondary causes, Hume is a competent judge. But Hume was a cold-blooded

* See Kingsley's Historical Discourse, at the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven.

infidel; peculiarly bitter against Christianity in its evangelical and spiritual form. To judge of the principles of evangelical religion as distinguished from a religion of superstitious forms and splendid rituals, Hume was not competent. He could never appreciate the motives of the Puritans. He could not see how the principle of *Justification by faith alone*, by bringing every soul for himself directly to God, with *no reliance on Priestly interventions*, while it made every man feel his responsibilities, made him also aware of his rights; and taught him to shake off the despotism of a priesthood whose claims to divine authority rested in sheer falsehood. He could not see how this discovery and vindication of the right to religious freedom, naturally led to the discovery of man's inalienable civil rights, and gave him the spirit to maintain them. He could not appreciate the principle that wrought in the Puritans; and hence, in his view, their activity was turbulence, their firmness wilfulness, their zeal for the fundamental principles of the oracles of God was fanaticism. Hume saw not what they saw,—freedom, purity, truth, the vindication of the religious and civil rights of man, as the end of their labors and the reward of their perseverance.

From Hume's sketch of the Reformation, and his delineation of the character of the Puritans, it is most evident, that except the incidental bearing upon civil laws and popular freedom, he saw no difference between the superstitions of Popery, and the Reformed religion. With him religion was but an establishment: the creation of popular ignorance and credulity: an engine of the government, to be moulded by the civil power into such a form as to render it most subservient to purposes of state. Hence he praises the "slow steps by which the reformation was conducted in England;" he extols that human policy by which "the fabric of the hierarchy was maintained entire; and the ancient" (viz. the Papal) "liturgy was preserved, so far as consistent with the new principles:" and by which "many ceremonies become venerable from age, and preceding use, were retained." With him, the only question is that of human expediency. Whether the principles of the Gospel be preserved in their purity; whether impositions inconsistent with the Gospel be laid aside; whether the Church of God shall be severed from the domination of mere worldly politicians; whether the Gospel and its ordinances, given by the toils and blood of the Son of God, shall be left as he gave them, pure and simple, with power to secure the great ends for which they were given, rather than so perverted and disguised as to lull men into a false security;—these are matters for which Hume cares not, and concerning which he makes no inquiry. Concerning the Reformation itself, he rejoices that "the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient

superstition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and interests of society, had preserved that happy medium which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain." Hence, in the Puritans, he sees little else save the turbulent zeal of ignorant and misguided fanatics; breaking the public peace; disturbing the established order; shaking the foundations of civil government; and going to the dungeon or into banishment, in their mad rage against, what he styles, "inoffensive observances, surplices, corner caps, and tippets." If from such a mingling of the elements there comes out the fair product of human liberty, Hume acknowledges the fact, but he accords not to the Puritans the praise. Deep and overwhelming as was the mass of superstitions with which the Papal Beast had loaded Christianity during the accumulating corruptions of a thousand years of darkness, Hume rejoices that so little was changed; and he ascribes it to "the spirit of contradiction to the Romanists, taking place in this one instance only universally in England, that the *altar* was removed from the wall, placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforward denominated the *communion table*." It did not occur to Hume, or he considered it too trifling to notice, that the Popish *altar* was a place where the *Priest* pretended to offer up a propitiatory sacrifice; and that when the eyes of men were opened to this horrid corruption, which in effect made void the one only and all sufficient sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, it was demanded, of course, that the *altar* should be removed: since the Gospel now knows no *Priest* nor *altar* nor sacrifice. The simplest lessons as well as the fundamental principles of the Gospel demanded that the *Priest* should be turned into a simple minister; the *altar* into a communion table; the sacrifice of the *mass*, into simple bread and wine; the *symbols*, not the *substance*, of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was on this principle, that when the communion table was afterwards turned again into an altar and placed against the wall,—for the minister once more to seem to act the part of a priest, officiating, with sacerdotal interventions before the altar, with his back to the people,—it was throughout England deemed the symbol of a virtual abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation, and a virtual return to popery. Yet so far is Hume from caring for or comprehending the deep principle involved, that he regrets the change from the Romish forms, and can ascribe the turning of the *altar* into a *communion table* to no other cause than "the spirit of contradiction to the Romanists!" How poorly is such a man qualified to judge of the principles of the Puritans! How lamentable that his opinions on these subjects should enstamp themselves on so

many minds ; and form, with scarcely a question of their accuracy, the prevailing sentiments of a large portion of the world !

With regard to the true source of English liberty, however, the testimony of Hume is largely corroborated and unquestionable. Says Lord *King*, " By the independent divines, who were his instructors, *Locke* was taught those principles of liberty, *which they were* THE FIRST TO DISCLOSE TO THE WORLD. As for toleration, or any true notion of religious liberty, or any general freedom of conscience, *we owe them not in the least degree to what is called the Church of England*. On the contrary, *we owe all these to the INDEPENDENTS in the time of the Commonwealth*, and to *Locke*, their most illustrious and enlightened disciple." Lord *Brougham* speaks also of the Independents, as " a body of men to be held in lasting veneration, for the unshaken fortitude with which, at all times, they have maintained their attachment to civil liberty ; men to whose ancestors England will ever acknowledge a boundless debt of gratitude, as long as freedom is prized among us ; for," he continues, " I fearlessly confess it,—they, with whatever ridicule some may visit their excesses, or with whatever blame others ; they, with the zeal of martyrs, and with the purity of early Christians, the skill and courage of the most renowned warriors, obtained for England the free constitution which she enjoys."

The Puritans have been blamed as contending for frivolous matters ; because the *occasions* in which these contests originated, were such matters as the imposition of an ecclesiastical habit, a surplice, a tippet, kneeling at communion, or the use of the ring in marriage. But how seldom can the value of a principle be measured by the occasion which calls it into debate ? Should one now attempt to stigmatize the patriots of the American Revolution as turbulent fanatics, because they took the field, suffered their sons to be slaughtered, their land to be wasted and filled with smoking ruins,—and all for a paltry three-penny tax on a pound of tea ; how inadequate such a representation ! How deceptive ; how entirely removed from the truth ! Years of oppression had preceded. Multiplied wrongs had been inflicted. The tax on tea was a trifle ; the principle involved was of untold importance to the welfare of millions yet unborn, and to the liberties of the world. It was no quarrel of avarice or ill-blood on the part of our fathers ; but a war of principle ; whose result has put forward the dial of human freedom centuries in advance of the progress of ordinary times.

Such was the cause of the Puritans. They had suffered grievous and indescribable wrongs. The world had groaned under a spiritual bondage and groped in spiritual darkness, through the *want of a few* FIRST PRINCIPLES ; whose loss or un-

checked violation results necessarily in darkness and bondage. Bitter was the cup which had been long filling up; the last drop made it overflow. The last drop was the *occasion* on which the debate arose; not the whole *matter in debate*. It was not for a cap or a surplice; nor yet simply against a liturgy, or a hierarchy, that the Puritans contended; but against spiritual corruption and despotism, and in behalf of religion herself, pure and simple, as she came from heaven.

But if the matters in debate were indeed indifferent, or of small moment, why did the hierarchy and the civil power empty more than half the pulpits in England, and send men and women and children to prison or into banishment, for matters of mere indifference? This is sheer persecuting tyranny. If the things in debate were indeed indifferent, why did they impose them upon the consciences of good men and true subjects with such fearful rigors? The Puritans did not deem them indifferent. They never admitted that they were contending for matters of small moment; but for their rights, for conscience, for the truth; for their country; for God.

But these preliminary matters need not farther occupy our attention. We must return to the days of the Puritans, and dwell among them; hearing their statements, witnessing their distresses, observing the course of events; and weighing, as we shall be able, the matters that pass under our review.

Justly to appreciate these things, it is indispensable that we take a cursory view of the state of things preceding the rise of the Puritans. We will therefore, in this chapter, briefly glance at a few things more important to be noticed previous to the dawn of the Reformation. In the next, we will review the life and times of Wickliffe, that honored father no less of Puritanism than of the Reformation. The third will bring us to the beginning of the Reformation under the reign of Henry VIII. The fourth will develop its progress under Edward VI. This brief survey complete, we will proceed to sketch the rise of Puritanism, its conflicts with Prelatical usurpations and oppressions, till we cross the Atlantic and land with the Pilgrims on the rock of Plymouth. Then, leaving the Pilgrims in the midst of these labors, we will return to England, and observe the events there transpiring under the reign of James and the elder Charles: till this religious controversy, drawing into itself the great questions of civil liberty and human rights, overturns the established church and the throne together; despoils the bishops of their mitres, and brings the king to the scaffold. A rapid glance at subsequent events will bring us to the *questions at issue between Puritanism and Prelacy at the present day*; and to the vindication of that FAITH and ORDER, which, in common with our Pilgrim Fathers, we find broadly and solidly based on the Word of God.

"ENGLAND," says Bishop Burnet in his History of the Reformation, "had been for three hundred years the tamest part of Christendom to the Papal authority, and had been accordingly dealt with." We can only give our attention to one or two of the principal events which contributed to give the Pope such resistless sway over the island of our forefathers.

William, duke of Normandy, surnamed the *Conqueror*, in A. D., 1066, obtained the crown of England mainly through the favor of the Pope; and various unusual advantages were granted to the See of Rome in return. Further prerogatives were granted to the Poppedom, under the reign of that weak and wicked king *John*, who took possession of the throne A. D. 1190. *John* quarrelling with his bishops, the Pope took occasion to interfere, and appointed on his own authority an archbishop of Canterbury. *John* refused to admit the Pope's nomination, and the Pope put the kingdom under an interdict. By the operation of that interdict, "The nation was deprived at once of all the exterior exercise of its religion. The altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the relics, the images and the statues of the saints were laid on the ground: and as if the air itself had been profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up even from their own approach and veneration. The bells were removed from the steeples and laid on the ground." "The churches were shut. The dead were refused Christian burial, and thrown into ditches on the highways." According to the belief of the times, the nation was cut off from God and from heaven. No courage or patriotism could give any man heart to meet the power of such a horrible and mysterious curse. The king was excommunicated: and in those days the excommunicated person lost his civil rights, and was accounted not only an outlaw, but loathsome and accursed. No one, as he feared the like sentence upon himself, and perdition upon his own soul, might afford him a shelter or do him a kindness. The subjects of *John* were, by the Pope, absolved from their allegiance; and the kingdom was given to Philip, king of France; who was required, as a dutiful son of the church, to come with an army and enter upon the possession.

John, in distress and terror, submitted to the Pope, and took an oath to perform whatever stipulations the Pope should impose. Then kneeling, with his hands held between the hands of the legate, and under his dictation, he took the following oath: "I *John*, by the grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free will, and advice of my barons, give to the church of Rome, to Pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the

Pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God and to the church of Rome ; to the Pope my master, and his successors legitimately elected." Having done homage to the Pope's legate, and reinstated the archbishop of Canterbury appointed by the Pope, and paid tribute, the crown was restored to him, while the legate trampled the tribute money under his feet."

The ecclesiastical preferments of England were thus given into the hands of the Pope. Foreigners were put into the richest bishoprics ; and enjoyed their revenues without residing in their dioceses, or so much as setting foot on English ground. Vacant preferments the Pope sold for the benefit of his own coffers ; nay, without waiting for the death of the incumbent, he made *provisional* sales of dioceses, parishes, and canonries, to any who would pay his price ; who were thus endowed with the right of succession whenever the void term should occur. He exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices ; the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues whatever : and where these revenues exceeded a hundred marks, he demanded a third : of the benefices of non-residents he exacted one-half.

A century and more passed away while the kingdom was suffering under this foreign yoke with scarcely a hope of ever finding relief. At length the sceptre of England was grasped by a firmer and more sagacious hand. Edward III, A. D. 1352, ordained that all forestalling of benefices should cease : that the elections, presentments, and collations, should stand in right of the crown, or of any of his majesty's subjects, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome. An inquiry directed by Parliament, resulted in the discovery that more than half the landed property in the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy : that the most lucrative benefices were in the possession of foreigners ; some of them mere boys, who had never set foot on English soil : that the collector of Peter's pence, who "kept a house in London with clerks and officers thereunto belonging, transported yearly to the Pope twenty thousand marks, and most commonly more ;" that other foreign dignitaries, holding ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom, though residing at Rome, received an equal or greater sum for their sinecures ; "that the tax paid to the Pope for ecclesiastical dignities doth amount to five fold as much as the tax that doth appertain to the king by the year, of this whole realm."

By the energy of Edward III, the evil began to be checked : it was not cured. All trials of titles to the right of presentations to benefices were still brought into the Romish courts beyond sea ; appointments to benefices were still subject to the confirmation of the Pope ; the canons and constitutions enacted by the clergy convoked without the king's authority, were binding without any voice of the king ; so that the ecclesiastical power

was independent of the civil government, and had authority to oppress the people, in various ways, without limit or redress.

To remedy these evils, the famous statute, whose provisions are commonly referred to by the title of *Premunire*, was passed in the reign of Richard II. "That if any did purchase translations, benefices, processes, sentences of excommunications, bulls, or any other instruments from the court of Rome, against the king or his crown; or whoever brought them into England, or did receive or execute them, they were declared to be out of the king's protection, and should forfeit their goods and chattels, besides enduring further processes and penalties, at the discretion of the king and council."

By such enactments the kingdom was in a measure relieved from the extraordinary impositions laid upon it under the hands of William the Conqueror, and king John. In other respects, the iron hand of the Papacy still lay heavy upon England. Ignorance and superstition reigned. Though parts of the Scripture had been translated into Anglo-Saxon, a few rare copies of which might be in existence among the rubbish of the monasteries; no Englishman had as yet possessed the *Bible* in his native tongue. Few even of the clergy were able to expound the prayers and forms of divine service, which were all in Latin; few were even able to read. Yet their power over the superstitious fears of the people was almost without limit. Under the dominion of ignorance and superstition, oppressed and plundered by a rapacious and debauched priesthood, subject to a government just emerging from the barbarous feudal system, with no knowledge of their rights, the people enjoyed not the least degree of freedom of conscience, and scarcely knew anything of the security of just and equal laws.

It was in the midst of this darkness that WICKLIFFE arose, the morning star of the Reformation.

II.

WICKLIFFE AND HIS TIMES.

His early Life and Writings. Negotiation with Rome. His Principles :
Contrast between these and modern Puseyism. Persecution of his followers for a succeeding century.

WICKLIFFE was a child, three years old, when Edward III. ascended the throne, A. D. 1327. He lived, therefore, a century and a half before Luther ; and died A. D. 1384, or 108 years before the discovery of America by Columbus.

At an early age he entered the University at Oxford, where he earned the name of a hard student and a profound scholar. One of his bitterest enemies described him as "second to none in philosophy, and in scholastic discipline altogether incomparable." But most of all he was distinguished for his early and profound acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures ; so that by the common consent of his cotemporary scholars he was styled "the Evangelical Doctor ;" a rare distinction in those days ; and one which, if conferred on a man of inferior genius and attainments, would have been a token of equivocal praise, or even of contempt. Who can doubt that it was the Bible that lighted up his genius, and that gave a distinctness and vigor to the productions of his pen, which rendered them the wonder of that age ?

Drinking the waters of Christianity at their fountain, the Word of God, Wickliffe saw even while a student, the gross superstition and corruption of the prevailing religion. What he saw he dared to speak, and to write : nor did he hesitate to adapt his writings to the capacity of the common people ;—setting forth the way of holiness, and pointing out the worldliness, the corruptions, and the errors of those, who by their office ought to be guides and ensamples to the people, in the way of life.

Next, he set himself to resist the imposition of the "Black Friar Mendicants ;" who had spread themselves over the kingdom,—absolving the sins of the vilest wretches for money,—usurping the offices of the regular clergy,—drawing away the youth of the universities to their monasteries ; and who thus, says an early historian,—“ By their numerous arts and efforts of lying and begging, and confessing ; by frightening the ignorant,

and flattering the rich, succeeded,—in twenty-four years from their establishment in England,—in piling up their mansions to a royal altitude.”

These efforts secured for Wickliffe the admiration of the learned, and the gratitude of his country. He was raised to the wardership of Baliol College; and afterwards to that of Canterbury Hall. But, continuing to proclaim the Gospel by every possible exertion of his voice and his pen, he was soon hurled from this station by the mandate of the Archbishop. Yet he ceased not to preach the Gospel, and to inveigh against the prevailing superstitions and vices of the clergy.

His vigorous writings were the dawn of independence as well as of light to England. To these it was owing, that the public mind had become so far disabused with regard to the ghostly power of the Pope, that the king and parliament ventured to inquire how far the Pope might bind them, under penalty of perdition, to yield to his enormous exactions. Wickliffe was now summoned by name, to declare whether the king and nation might not refuse to pay the odious tribute extorted from the superstitious and imbecile King John. If the *people* could not be so far enlightened as not to fear the interdicts and excommunications of the Pope, the king and parliament could not venture to withhold the tribute, without certain ruin. Wickliffe obeyed the summons. His arguments and eloquence prevailed. The tribute was withheld.

If to the vigorous and politic Edward III. the praise is due of beginning to wrest the kingdom from the grasp of papal power; the laws by which this was effected owed their existence and efficiency not less to Wickliffe than to the king. Edward's sword and sceptre would have been impotent in this matter, without the pen of Wickliffe; nor is it probable that, without this, the project of such laws would ever have been conceived. THE BIBLE EVEN THEN, CHAINED AND IMPRISONED AS IT WAS, WAS ENGLAND'S BEST FRIEND: nor is it possible that the Pope should ever cease to consider it his deadliest foe.

Wickliffe was now raised to the chair of Theology in Oxford; where he shone equally the learned professor, and,—to borrow a phrase of his own,—the diligent teacher “of simple men and women” in the “way to heaven.” From this station he was called into the public service of his country, and sent by the King on an embassy to procure from the Roman Court a redress of grievances. Bruges was the appointed place of meeting. A negotiation with the Commissioners of the Holy See opened the eyes of Wickliffe to a clearer perception of the deep iniquities and incurable corruptions of the whole scheme of popery. He returned a Reformer in earnest. He denied the

Pope's supremacy. He denied his infallibility. He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. He denied that the Pope, or any other prelate, ought to have prisons for the punishment of offenders against the discipline of the Church. The Pope himself he denounced as "Antichrist,—the proud worldly priest of Rome,—the most cursed of all clippers and purse-cutters."

Was this to be endured? The monks drew up charges of heresies, extracted from his writings, and sent them to Rome. The Pope issued his bulls to the Archbishop of Canterbury,—to the King,—to the University,—calling for Wickliffe's blood. All was in commotion. I need not detail the means by which Divine Providence defended the life of the Reformer: till hunted, harassed,—and still continuing his labors for many years,—he came at last, in spite of all his enemies, to a peaceful end. After his return from Rome, Wickliffe descended from public life into the retiracy of a country parson; and in this work which, above all others, his soul loved, he spent the remainder of his days.

The secret of Wickliffe's power lay in his appeals to the Bible. Mighty as he was in his powers of logic and his stores of learning, he still found that "*The sword of the Spirit is the Word of God.*" This was his theme; this was his authority; this was his argument. He translated it into the English tongue: and after all other claims have been discussed, it is now conceded, that Wickliffe's version was the first English copy of the entire Word of God. Men saw now not only the corruptions of popery, but of their own hearts. It was not long before Wickliffe had many of like faith and spirit whom he sent forth "with their staff in their hands, and the Word of God in their bosoms," that they might make known everywhere the way of life, and preach every where that men should repent. Such was their success, that the "ancient chronicles inform us, that one half the kingdom in a short time became Lollards, or Wickliffites."*

It is not consistent with the work in hand to pursue the personal history of Wickliffe to any considerable extent. Our business is with his principles, and with the result of his labors, as bearing upon the history and principles of the Puritans. It is sufficient to say, that Wickliffe appears to have been a very devout and holy man;—ardent, bold,—living in dark and dangerous times,—and but a *man*. It is not wonderful, therefore, if he was not always so moderate and discreet as would be required if he were to be judged according to the standard of more peaceful and polished times. With less boldness and fire, he could not have done the work of a reformer. Self-denying, humble, prayerful, full of love for souls, and faithful to the cause of Christ,

* Punchard.

he unquestionably was. *Geoffrey Chaucer*, the father of English poetry, who had been the friend and fellow student of Wickliffe, has drawn his picture, and paid a tribute to his memory in the following description of a parish priest :

“ A good man there was of religion,
He was a poor parson of a town,
But rich he was of holy thought and werk,
He was also a learned man, a clerk,
That Christe's Gospel trewely wolde preche ;
His parishens devoutly wolde tech,
Benign he was, and wonder diligent,
And in adversitie full patient.

* * * *

“ Wide was his parish and houses far asunder,
But he ne left nought for no rain ne thunder,
In sickness and in mischeefe to visite,
The fenest in his parish, moche and lite,
Upon his fete, and in his hand a staff.
But if were any person obstinat,
What so he were of high or low estat,
Him would he snibben sharply for the nones.”

Wickliffe was, in the true sense, a *Reformer*. He traced corruptions to their sources : he pursued abuses back to the principle from which they sprung. He aimed not at lopping off now and then a branch, but at tearing up the tree of evil by the roots. He aimed at laying down such principles, and at basing his reform upon such grounds, that when these principles were once established and brought into successful operation, other things would follow of course, and the work of reform be done. Of his work it might be said as of that of John the Baptist ; “ *And now the axe is laid at the foot of the tree.*” The plan of Wickliffe resembled that of *Luther*, rather than that of *Erasmus*. Both these men were learned ; both saw the abuses of popery ; both aimed at reformation. But Erasmus looked not beyond the present *abuses* ; he saw not the *principle* from which they sprung. Hence he began to wield his shafts of resistless satire against the superstitions of the people, and the vices of the monks. Did he accomplish anything ? Certainly he did : these vices and superstitions received a momentary check. But the *sources* remained ; and the stream of evil flowed on. Like an unskilful physician, he mistook the symptoms for the disease ; and applying his remedies to the symptoms, he allowed the disease to fasten itself irrecoverably upon the constitution. *Luther's* plan was different. He saw the vices and superstitions that prevailed, in all their enormity. But he saw also the source from which these disorders sprung. *He struck at the source. Justification by faith alone ; no purchased indulgences ; no priestly interventions and absolutions ; no reliance on works of merit or of penance :—*this was with him “ THE ARTICLE OF A STANDING OR FALLING CHURCH ;” and this doctrine shakes the very pillars of popery.

Superstitions, vices, abuses, the despotism of ghostly power—give way before it. The work is done; there is a reformation.

Such was the plan of Wickliffe. The senseless superstitions, the idolatrous forms which Popery had substituted for Christianity, Wickliffe saw; but he spent not his strength to war upon inferior things. Singling out the fundamentals of the Popish scheme, he laid the axe at its colossal pillars. It was not simply to purify a system, in its very foundation and principles corrupt and antichristian, but to clear away its very foundations; and to build up true religion in its room. There was no great principle of the Reformation which Wickliffe did not see and adopt. With the Bible in his hand, and taking that alone for his guide, he advanced further into the field of Apostolic truth and order, than Luther and his immediate coadjutors. Wickliffe traced up his principles to their springs. He reached hold on the results, which after a lapse of centuries, and after an age of suffering and research, the Providence of God unfolded once more to the eyes of the Puritans.

And what were these principles? THE BIBLE ALONE, irrespective of the decrees, or traditions, or interpretations of the Church, whether by prelates, councils or fathers, Wickliffe maintained to be the SOLE RULE OF FAITH AND DUTY. "To the law and to the testimony" as to the ultimate rule and arbiter, he directed the mind of every man. No man might allow the priest or the Church to interpose an authoritative interpretation: PRIVATE JUDGMENT was more than a right: it was an indispensable duty.

CHRIST ALONE, he acknowledged THE SOLE HEAD AND LAW-GIVER OF THE CHURCH; affirming that "No true man will ever dare to put two heads, lest the Church be monstrous." To impose mystical or significant ceremonies of human invention as parts of religious worship was sinful: to restrict men to prescribed rituals and forms of prayer, was "contrary to the liberty granted by God."

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST he defined to be "The Congregation of just men, for whom Christ shed his blood;" a definition which, instead of sweeping a parish or a nation into one indiscriminate society falsely called "The Church," requires the Church to be limited to those who, professedly and apparently, are disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Of the RITE OF CONFIRMATION, not finding it in the Bible, and seeing its baneful results in augmenting the power of the bishops, and in deluding the souls of the people, Wickliffe hesitated not to declare his sentiments in the following terms: "The short and trifling *confirmation*, performed by the Cæsarean prelates, together with its pompous mummary, was probably introduced by the instigation of the Devil, for deluding people, and advancing the importance and dignity of the Episcopal order."

AS TO THE ORDERS OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, said Wickliffe, "there were BUT TWO species of orders, namely, that of deacons and of priests." "The Church militant," said he, "*ought not to be burdened with three*; nor is there any ground for it." "One thing," says he, "I boldly affirm: that in the primitive Church, or in the time of the Apostle Paul, two orders of clergy were thought sufficient;—and I say also that in the time of Paul, a Presbyter and a Bishop were one and the same; for in those times the distinct orders of Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, officials and deans, were not invented." "By the ordinance of Christ," said Wickliffe, "priests and bishops were all one; but afterwards the Emperor made bishops lords, and priests their servants." "From the faith of Scripture, it seems sufficient that there should be *presbyters and deacons*, holding the state which Christ assigned them; since it appears that *all other orders and degrees have their origin in the pride of Cæsar*."

Such was the scheme of Church polity which this great and good and most learned man drew from the Word of God. A better summary of the principles for which the Puritans contended can scarcely be given. *Justification by faith alone*, the fundamental principle of the Reformation; *The Bible alone* the rule of faith and duty; *Christ alone*, the sole lawgiver of his Church; *no human traditions* to be received in proof for matters of faith; *no human inventions* to be imposed as essential parts of divine worship;—these were the original principles for which the Puritans contended. The wrath and power of the Hierarchy coming down upon their heads for these, the Puritans were at length, like Wickliffe, led to inquire into the foundations of the Hierarchy itself, and to reject it as unscriptural; a usurpation of Christ's prerogatives and of his people's rights.

The contest on the first part of these principles has now become the great theological debate of the present day; the Oxford Tractarians and their followers taking the ground of old Rome, in favor of Tradition, denying the right of private judgment, and teaching the efficacy of priestly interventions in opposition to justification by faith alone; and the evangelical party in the Episcopal Church fighting over again the battles of Wickliffe, of the early British reformers, and of the Puritans. The Bishops of Maryland, New Jersey and Connecticut, have flung their banners boldly to the wind. On the banner of the Bishop of Maryland, as it floats in the breeze, you shall see inscribed in words written by the Bishop's own finger:

"*Ministerial intervention*,"—"THAT SINS MAY BE FORGIVEN, is the essence of priesthood."

"Truth has been obscured, in the discussions concerning a

Christian priesthood, by stopping short of that definition." "All the forms of priesthood that the world has ever known have *propitiation* for their end." "Why should the administrator of water *by which sins are washed away*, be less a *priest* than the sprinkler of blood, by which *atonement* was effected?" *

Again, as the waving breeze opens another fold of that banner, you shall see inscribed there, "Rightly interpreted the Bible can only be *in and by the Church*. Not a word of the text justifies *an individual* in setting up his private interpretation of Scripture, as the rule by which to judge his preacher's teaching." "The *people* judges!" "But of what? Whether he" [the priest] "is to teach? Whether he teaches the truth? of neither."

On the standard of Connecticut Episcopacy you shall see it written by the hand of the Bishop in the solemn word of his charge; "The Holy Scriptures, *as they were interpreted by the Church*;" "Our *book of Common Prayer*;" "a standard of faith and worship." "Notions of the right of *private judgment*!" — "erroneous."

As the waving breeze displays other folds of that banner, your eye shall catch, at various glimpses, the words "Dissenters"—"Dissenting Press"—"Incongruous Sects;"—"Numerous bodies of intelligent, humble and devoted Christians, but without any *sufficient* bond of union and stability; *the Bible alone*, to the exclusion of all *church authority*; *the Bible alone*, without note or comment, their only *standard of faith*!" "Surrounded by all this desolation the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country appears as an oasis in the desert."

"*The church* the great medium of communicating divine grace," "The Revelation of God offers salvation *only through the Church*." "The true church of God is our only ark of safety."

"The true economy of the Christian religion regards men as by nature the *children of wrath*;" "it takes them from this state," * * "and *transfers them* BY BAPTISM, into the family, household, and kingdom of the Saviour." * * "Let them be *assured*, that those who are sacramentally baptized," *

* "become BY THAT ACT" (not in name only, but in *deed and in truth*) "members of Christ," "children of God," "and heirs of the kingdom of heaven." * * "They are restored to a state of favor with *God*." "And this is not to be regarded as a mere temporary act, but as the initiation into an abiding state." * "The first sentiment impressed upon their youthful hearts should be, that they ARE IN VERY DEED, the children of God; * * that in the sacrament of Baptism they received the spirit of adoption," by which they are enabled to

* "The Priesthood in the Church," by W. R. Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland, 1843.

address God as their Father, to regard Christ as their *Brother*, as well as Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost as their in-dwelling companion and sanctifier." *

Turn we now to read the inscriptions written by the Bishop's finger on the standard of New Jersey Episcopacy; and here we see traced, in broad and legible lines, the following sentence :

"The true Catholic Pastor, who thus receives the Word of God, *with the transmitted witness of the CHURCH*; who guides himself by the Holy Scriptures, *not as he understands them*, but as *Catholic antiquity has revealed*, and as *Catholic consent* has kept their meaning; will be chastened and schooled by the *submission of his judgment* to the wise and good of every age, into the child-like spirit which God will bless."

And what says the Bishop of Ohio as he contemplates these doctrines, and gazes upon these unfurled standards? He lifts up his warning voice in solemn tones: "I am constrained to say that every further step has produced a deeper conviction on my mind," * * that "it is a *systematic abandonment of the vital and distinguishing features of the Protestant faith; and a systematic adoption of the very root and heart of Romanism.*"

"A Gambier Romance," cries the editor of "The Churchman."

"Slight shades of difference, which tincture the views of different members of our household of faith," re-echoes the Bishop of Connecticut.

There is one man more, whose name is as familiar in our Congregational and Presbyterian Churches as one of our household words; an aged and venerable man, whose life has been spent in a simple and faithful testifying of the truth as it is in Jesus; and who is now ready to descend into the grave,† followed by the lamentation—"My father! My father!" by thousands of the most devoted ministers of Christ in all communions; an able and a faithful man; a scribe well instructed in the law of God; that man we should like to hear if it may be, on these matters which are daily growing to be of so much consequence in the Episcopal Churches both of England and in the United States. What says the venerable DR. MILNOR of the system of doctrines emblazoned on these unfurled standards? Let us hear him:

"When I can bring my mind to believe, that *instead of my Bible as the guide of my faith* I am bound to dishonor this best of heaven's gifts, *by admitting tradition to a co-equal rank*; * * * when my charity shall so fail that I can consign my fellow Christians of other names, whatever be the strength of their faith in Christ, and the holiness of their lives, *to the uncovenanted mercies of God*, because of their not belonging to a Church gov-

* "Charge" by Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell. 1843.

† Since deceased.

erned by bishops, consecrated *by succession from the Apostles*; when I dare assert that that order is requisite, not only to the perfection and completeness of a Christian Church, but to its very existence; when I am convinced that I must ascribe *exclusively to the Apostolical Commission*, the derivation of the grace of the Spirit and our mystical communion with Christ; to believe the truth *that the sacraments of the Church* are the ONLY CHANNELS whereby the gifts of the Holy Spirit are conveyed to men *** when I can be so presumptuous as to claim, as minister of Christ, the power of personally absolving individuals from their sins. *** When I can make these admissions and subscribe these sentiments, I may join the ranks of the men of Oxford."

It is most obvious that the debates in the Episcopal Church at the present day, are but the revival of the same contest which Wickliffe, the Reformers, and the old Puritans maintained against the tenets which form the basis of the Romish apostasy. Is the Evangelical system of faith, in opposition to the Romish, consistent with the Prelatical claims? Can this controversy be long maintained without drawing into question the Prelacy itself, and the very dogmas concerning ordination, the sacraments, and apostolic succession, on which the Prelatical character and claims are made to rest? If I have scanned the lessons of history aright, the controversy, which is now rending the bowels of the Episcopal Church, is soon to be hushed up; the evangelical party are to be silent; and the whole body is quietly and imperceptibly to yield to the Tractarian tendency towards Romanism; or else the controversy is to follow in the track of the same old contest in the days of Wickliffe and the Puritans; and Prelacy itself is to be called in question in the end. If I have read history aright, the only alternative to the friends of Evangelical truth in that communion is, either finally to acquiesce in the prevalence and triumph of the principles which they now denounce as "the root and heart of Romanism," or like the old Puritans, to abandon the system of Prelacy itself and come out from the midst of her. Of the reasons for these conclusions, you shall judge in our survey of the course which this same controversy has repeatedly taken in days of old; and of the principles which must ever continue to turn it to that course.*

* The author was gratified, some months after the delivery of this lecture, in reading, in the New Englander, the able article of Mr. Barnes, on "*The position of the Evangelical Party in the Episcopal Church*," in which he discusses the question so conclusively, "whether the objects at which they aim, can be secured in that communion; or whether they do not necessarily meet with obstructions in the organization of this Episcopal Church, which will certainly prevent the accomplishment of those objects."

Since that time we have seen the leaders of that party avow themselves determined to bring the question to an issue; and declaring themselves ready rather to

Let us turn from this digression. While Wickliffe turned his artillery against the mendicant monks, his university, the regular clergy, and the people applauded. While he stood forth the champion of his country against the exactions of the Pope, his king and the parliament sustained him. The Pope, indeed, thundered out his anathemas, and denounced his death. But Wickliffe found those who were able, first to delay his trial, and afterwards to protect him. But when Wickliffe translated the Bible into the English tongue; when he poured the light of heaven upon the thick darkness that reigned around him; when the Romish clergy saw their superstitions likely to be undermined by a scheme of doctrine whose necessary result was to set the consciences of men free from the domination of ghostly power; and when in addition to all this, the prelates saw that the very basis of their prerogatives was likely to be overthrown and destroyed; then the life of Wickliffe was indeed in danger. The wrath of his enemies was extreme; the English prelates, the Pope, the priesthood, and the civil arm, were leagued for his destruction. But, with a series of remarkable providences, the Lord watched over him, till on the last day of A.D. 1384, he died in peace.

It is the rejoicing of High Churchmen, that England was delivered from the arm of Wickliffe, even though it was only to be thrown, for more than another hundred years, into the jaws of the Pope. Says one of them, "Had Wickliffe succeeded in shaking the established system to pieces, one can scarcely think, without some awful misgivings, of the fabric, which, under his hand, might have risen out of the ruins. * * If the reformation of our Church had been conducted by Wickliffe, *his work, in all probability, would have nearly anticipated the labors of Calvin*, and the Protestantism of England might have pretty closely resembled the Protestantism of Geneva; Episcopal government might have been discarded; * * * the clergy might have been consigned to a degrading dependence on their flocks." "Had Wickliffe flourished in the 16th century, * * he might have been ready to perish in the gainsayings of such men as *Knox* and *Cartwright*; at all events, it must be confessed that there is a marvellous resemblance between the Reformer with his poor itinerant priests, and at least the better part of the *Puritans* who troubled our Israel in the days of Elizabeth and her successors. The likeness is sufficiently striking, almost to mark him out as their prototype and progenitor; and therefore it is, that every faithful son of the

submit to martyrdom, than to the prevalence of the dogmas which they oppose. But the General Convention has met, and Puseyism triumphs. After a feeble struggle the contest is hushed. So much is settled; that no effectual resistance to Puseyism is to be expected in that communion.

Church must *rejoice with trembling*, that the work of her final deliverance was consigned to him.”*

We accept the resemblance ; we receive Wickliffe with open arms, and gladly enrol him among the ranks of our ever honored fathers, the Puritans of old England.

At Wickliffe's death the art of printing was not invented ; nor was it yet to be revealed to the world till after the lapse of half a century. Wickliffe's translation existed only in copies written out by hand ; and yet, in his lifetime, they multiplied and spread rapidly. With great zeal, the Reformer had preached and published his doctrines ; having sent out, besides his translation of the Bible, nearly two hundred volumes from his indefatigable pen.

These were now condemned as heretical, and as many as could be found were committed to the flames. His translation of the Word of God, so far as copies could be discovered, was also consumed. But the seed was sown, and would continue to spring up. Even before Wickliffe's death, a law was passed, aimed at him and his followers, ordaining “ That all who preached without license, or against the Catholic faith, should be arrested and kept in prison *till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of holy Church ;*” and that law and reason of holy Church was the good pleasure of the bishop.

Forty years after the death of Wickliffe, his bones were, by order of the council of Constance, taken from the grave, and publicly committed to the flames. Still the seed of the Reformation would continue to spring up. Taught by the writings of Wickliffe, many embraced the true Gospel in England. Copies of his writings found their way to the continent, and became the seeds of a rising Reformation there ; which Rome vainly endeavored to overwhelm in fire and blood.

The law of Richard II., though rigorously enforced, proved insufficient to suppress the rising Reformation. When Richard was deposed, the usurper, Henry IV., was willing to do the enraged ecclesiastics a further pleasure. In the second year of his reign, A.D. 1401, it was enacted, “ That if any person was *suspected of heresy*, the ordinary [the bishop, or the one having jurisdiction in his stead] might detain them in prison, till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their errors ; provided that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially ended in three months. If they were convicted, the diocesan or his commissary might imprison or fine them at discretion. Those that refused to abjure their errors, or after abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to the secular power ; and the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs, were to be present, if required, when

* Le Bas.

the bishop or his commissary passed sentence; and after sentence they were to receive them, and in some high place, *burn them to death before the people.*"—(Neale.)

"By this law," says Neale, "the king's subjects were put from under his protection, and left to the mercy of the bishops in their spiritual courts; and might, upon suspicion of heresy, be imprisoned and put to death, without presentment or trial by a jury, as is the practice in all criminal cases." The Bishop's suspicion stood instead of an indictment; the bishop's suspicion was instead of proof, unless the suspected person could purge himself; the bishop's judgment was the sole test of what constituted heresy; he was accuser, jury, and judge; and who could stand against the suspicious displeasure of a brutish and incensed bishop?

Nor was this law sufficient; for in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. who ascended the throne A.D. 1413, it was further enacted, "That whosoever they were, that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue, they should forfeit land, cattle, life, and goods from their heirs for ever, and be considered heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land."

Such was the state of religious liberty in England, in the glorious conquering times of Henry V. Nor were these laws left to be a mere terror. By law it was made a part of the sheriff's oath, "that he would seek to repress all errors and heresies, commonly called Lollards:" "and it is," says *Toulmin*, "a striking instance of the permanent footing which error and iniquity gain when once established by law, that this clause was preserved in the oath long after the Reformation, even to the 1st of Charles I., when Sir Edward Coke, on being appointed sheriff of the county of Buckingham, objected to it, and ever since, it has been left out."

The wrongs inflicted, the sufferings endured under these laws can never be told. There were no historians among the poor victims of these oppressions to register their tears and to chronicle the months of their imprisonment. From the beginning of these persecutions to the accession of Henry VIII., a century rolled away. The witnesses were slain. The rising light was quenched in blood. Darkness, almost unbroken, reigned once more over the land. Rome and the Romish clergy of England rejoiced once more in a reign unbroken and undisturbed.

But if there were no historians to chronicle the sufferings of them who loved the Word of God, the public records tell what public records may disclose, of their afflictions even unto death. Hundreds of examples are on record in which men and women were, on suspicion of heresy, seized, imprisoned, tortured, buried in their dungeons, or given to the flames.

We pass now over the reign of five kings, occupying the space of more than a century ; a century of darkness, superstition, commotions, and blood : but days of fatness and rejoicing for the bishops and the Pope. We come to the times of Henry VIII., and to the occurrences of his eventful reign :—we come to the time when the morning star of the Reformation was rising in Germany, in the beginning of the 16th century. The art of printing had now been invented ; and letters were reviving. A new world had just been discovered ; and the old began to awake from its long and leaden slumbers. Men began to think, to inquire, and to enter upon fields of new and startling enterprise : sad omens for the reign of popish superstition and intolerance. It needed only that the Gospel should once more spring to light ; and the contest must commence in which Rome could no longer prove victorious. The causes of that long night of ignorance and superstition were sure to be investigated. The sources of spiritual despotism were to be explored. Lordly prelates, whose dominion stood in usurpation and superstition, would be sure to resist the progress of popular liberty ; till, in the course of that struggle, their own claims should be canvassed, their authority questioned and thrown aside.

Such was the progress of light and freedom. The Reformers cast off the doctrinal errors of Popery. Another struggle between prelatical oppressions and usurpations on the one hand and the rights of conscience on the other, raised up the Puritans. The progress of their principles gave to England whatever of freedom it possesses that is worthy of the name ; and crossing the Atlantic, originated the institutions of our own happy Republic.

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III.

REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

The King and Martin Luther. He assumes the Supremacy of the Church
The King's Bible. Articles. "Institution of a Christian man." "Eru-
dition of a Christian man." Only two orders of the ministry recognized
as of Divine right, in the days of Henry, or in the succeeding age. Evi-
dence collected by Stillingfleet. The Bloody Statute. Bible forbidden.
Estimate of the Reformation under Henry.

THERE was still subsisting in England, much of the leaven of the Reformation infused by Wickliffe, when news came of similar truths breaking forth and spreading under the labors of the Reformers in Germany.

To the spread of the new heresy, or rather to the revival of the old doctrine of Wickliffe, King Henry VIII. opposed the whole weight of his absolute power. But why should not the king,—who had been bred a scholar, and who had already been flattered into the conceit of unequalled abilities and learning;—why should not the king reap also some glory in the field of literature and theology? He descended into the arena to break a lance with the great Reformer of Wittemberg; whose onset no learning of the doctors, nor even the thunders of the Vatican, had been able to withstand.

• The drama of the Reformation in England opened by a book from King Henry VIII. in defence of the Seven Sacraments of the Church, against the heresies of Martin Luther. What was to be expected? The book was lauded as the perfection of wisdom, and the end of disputation. "Nor was it a performance," says Hume, "which, if allowance be made for the age, does discredit to his capacity." The king sent a copy to the Pope, "who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard," and conferred on the king the title of "*Defender of the faith*;" a title which even down to the present century, the Protestant sovereigns of England continued to wear.

But what cared Luther for kingly arguments? The might of monarchs lies in their power to command,—in their armies and fleets. When a sovereign descends into the arena of intellectual strife, he comes single-handed, in the simple strength of

an individual man. No long time was required to bring from Luther an answer burning with the fire of hot controversy, and in no manner regardful of the majesty of his opponent; and when did an advocate of Popery come off from a contest with Martin Luther unscathed?

The result of this royal controversy was, to add immense notoriety to the Reformation; and immensely to accelerate its progress. The king, now so thoroughly committed to the cause of Popery by having written a book, and so roughly handled and chagrined in his contest with the Reformer, was for ever fixed in his hatred of the Reformation. Accordingly we find, that the change effected in ecclesiastical affairs under Henry was less a Reformation than a revolution. Henry wrested the supremacy from the Pope; but the doctrines, the superstitions, the intolerance, the cruelties of Popery were still retained in all their vigor;—save as some changeable hue of coloring appeared and vanished with some new and uncertain caprice of the king. England was cut loose from the Pope; but the papal supremacy and infallibility were transferred to the head of Henry and his successors. In the rites of the church, says Bishop Burnet, “The alterations made were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting either the missals, breviaries, or other offices.”

Let us briefly review the leading particulars which enter into the account; and mark the heads of the causes and events which detached England from the See of Rome.

For twenty years after his accession, Henry had continued a dutiful son of the Roman Church. He had even suffered the laws to slumber, which had been enacted by his predecessors, against procuring provisions and bulls, and exercising authority from Rome. With his favor and connivance, Cardinal Wolsey had received from Rome, and had long exercised, a sovereign power over the whole clergy and church of England, contrary to the statutes of the realm. The king had added to these powers by giving him “full authority to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the crown, with a visitatorial power over monasteries and colleges, and all his clergy, exempt or not exempt.” With these powers a new court of justice had been erected, called the Legatine Court, which had committed numberless rapines and extortions; all which doings the king had connived at, out of favoritism to Wolsey and zeal for the Church.

But now the king had become wearied of his queen Catharine; and perhaps he sincerely questioned the lawfulness of his marriage; as had already been done by many, and among others, by some of the sovereigns of Europe. Both Wolsey and the

Pope had trifled with him, and delayed him for six years; and, out of purely selfish ends, had thwarted his desires. By other means, which it is not to the purpose here to relate, Henry accomplished his ends, was divorced from Catharine, and married to Anne Boleyn, the mother of Queen Elizabeth.

And now for vengeance. *Wolsey* is entrapped; having exercised the office of papal legate, contrary to the statute of Richard II. Henry orders his attorney general to put in an information against him in the king's bench; and *Wolsey* forfeits goods and chattels to the king; is put from under the king's protection, and becomes an outlaw. Under these reverses, the haughty cardinal sickens and dies. And now for the *Pope*: Henry will snatch away his supremacy, make himself head of the English Church, and stop the rivers of silver and gold that are flowing from England to Rome.

How can this be done? How will the clergy, so devoted to the papal See, by interest and superstition,—how will they bear to see the Pope rejected as head of the Church, and a profane layman installed in his place? In this way: the clergy, out of reverence to the Pope,—encouraged by the king, and compelled by *Wolsey*,—have yielded to *Wolsey's* legatine authority,—contrary to the statute:—and have incurred the pains and forfeitures of a premunire. They must submit to the king's terms, or their vast domains, if not their liberty or life, must pay the forfeit.

The king assumes the supremacy over the Church. By proclamation, he forbids all persons to purchase anything at Rome, under the severest penalties. As he expected, the clergy begin to rouse themselves up for resistance. The king causes an indictment to be preferred against them at Westminster Hall, and obtains judgment under the statute of premunire; whereby the whole body of the clergy have forfeited all their goods and chattels, and are out of the king's protection. They must yield either to the king or to ruin. They buy his pardon on condition of paying into his treasury an immense sum of money, and of *acknowledging the king as sole and supreme head of the Church of England*; yet with the saving clause, "so far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ." But what was this saving clause when the king was sole judge of what was agreeable to the laws of Christ? The clause itself was soon thrown aside, and the king's supremacy confirmed by parliament and convocation.

And what was this *supremacy*? First, it was to have and enjoy all the dignities, immunities and commodities which had formerly gone to the Pope. Secondly, the king was invested with the sole power of establishing, ordering or reforming all things connected with doctrine, worship, heresy or error. Whatever power had been usurped by synods, councils and popes;

lordship over doctrine, ceremonies, worship; lordship over the interpretation of Scripture, and over the consciences and private judgment of all men in the realm;—all was given into the hands of the king. Such was the tenor of the Act of Supremacy passed by the Parliament.

The Bishops “took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure.”

A new oath of allegiance was imposed, in which all the people were made to swear that the bishop of Rome had no more power than any other bishop in his diocese; and that they would submit to all the king’s laws, notwithstanding any censures from the Pope.

The parochial clergy thus submitting to the king were taken into favor. But England was full of *monks, friars and monasteries*, possessed of vast revenues and domains. These had been in great measure independent both of the bishops and the civil power. Their sympathies were wholly with Rome. The monks and friars began to complain. In some places they excited the people to insurrections, and endeavored to embroil the affairs of the kingdom with foreign princes.

The king knew well how to take vengeance on these. As head of the Church he appoints a general visitation of the monasteries, and commits the work to the Lord Cromwell as Visitor-General. Several abbots and priors surrender their houses into the king’s hands. Others are examined; and the grossest frauds, impostures, and debaucheries, are brought to light. Their pretended relics are exposed and destroyed. These were innumerable; among others, “The Virgin Mary’s milk, showed in eight places; the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; one wing of the angel that brought over the head of the spear that pierced the Saviour’s side; the rood of grace, so contrived by springs and pulleys that the lips might move upon occasion.” The images of a great many pretended saints were taken down and burnt; and all the rich offerings made at their shrines, seized for the crown. The lesser monasteries, to the number of two hundred, were suppressed. The greater monasteries soon shared their fate.

While Henry was busied in transferring to himself the supremacy and emoluments of the Pope, the doctrines of the Reformation were taking root in England. The dungeon and the faggot were the arguments on which the king and prelates relied for putting down the rising heresy. Some were cited into the bishops’ courts for teaching their children the Lord’s prayer in English; some for reading forbidden books; some for not

coming to confession and mass; some for not observing the Church fasts. Of these, many through the fear of death did penance and were dismissed. But such as refused to abjure, or after abjuration relapsed, were burnt at the stake. Many fled into foreign lands. Among these was *Tyndal*, who, with others, took refuge at Antwerp. These men employed the pen and the press in exposing the corruptions of Rome. They wrote against images, relics, and pilgrimages. They insisted on *justification by faith alone*, in opposition to justification by priestly absolutions, penances, fasts, flagellations, donations to churches, and other works to merit the divine favor. Their books came to England, and made converts everywhere. But the mightiest engine of the Reformers was *Tyndal's translation of the New Testament*, printed at Antwerp, A. D. 1527.

Against this translation the king and bishops were incensed to the utmost. While others are spending their rage in deeds of violence, *Tonstal*, bishop of London, must needs try his hand at a stroke of policy. He gives secret orders to buy up all the copies that can be found at Antwerp; and collecting a vast number, burns them publicly at Cheapside. A fine device, truly, to stop the press by buying up its productions! The first edition was marred with many inaccuracies, which *Tyndal* longed to correct; but he was too poor to throw aside the first edition and print another. What better service could the bishop of London perform, than to buy up the whole and burn them; and thus furnish the Reformer with funds to print more and better?

The burning of the Bibles shocked the minds of the common people. They could not understand the righteousness of burning the Word of God. The Reformation spread the more rapidly; the prisons became more crowded; the fires burnt with greater frequency.

The whole Bible was translated by *Tyndal*, assisted by *Miles Coverdale* and by *John Rogers*, the first martyr of Queen Mary's reign. This was printed at Hamburg in 1532; and greatly helped to press forward the swelling tide of the Reformation. At length, so great was the progress of popular sentiment, and such the genial influence of *Cranmer* upon the bigoted king, that the Convocation debated the question of translating the Bible, and allowing it to be read in the vulgar tongue. The majority of the clergy were opposed to it; and their arguments, says *Hume*, would probably have prevailed in the Convocation, had it not been for the authority of *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter.

Tyndal, the Translator, had now been put to death as a heretic

for his agency in that work. His Bible had been proscribed, and men burned for reading it. But Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, now took the translation of Tyndal, and revising it, leaving out the prologue and notes, and adding a preface of his own, set it forth as a true translation of the Word of God.

In A.D. 1538, the work was printed at Paris. The king would only allow copies of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where they were fastened by chains. And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That his indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them, who should therefore use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife. And he ordered that no man should read the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang mass; nor presume to expound doubtful places without help from the learned." —[*Hume.*]

But with the Bible, even though it were chained in the churches, if it were allowed to be read by the people at all, how could the doctrines of Popery maintain their ground? From this moment, the light which had gleamed so faintly, began to increase to the dawn of morning. Soon the system of Popery and the doctrines of the Reformation began to conflict in the pulpits. Could men be saved by the use of holy water, ghostly absolution, extreme unction, and the Eucharist; or must holy principles, deep repentance, a living faith, renew and transform the soul? Is salvation of works and priestly offices; or is it of grace, and by faith alone? Is Christianity a religion of forms and incantations, or is it a religion of the heart? So opposite were the two schemes, and so earnest the conflict, that the king forbade all preaching, till himself, as head of the Church, could set forth the scheme of doctrine in which all should be required to agree.

The king himself drew up the articles, to which both houses of Convocation gave their assent as a matter of course. In this system of doctrine, Popery and the Reformation were made to mingle their discordant elements, and alternately shared the several articles of faith. First, the *Scripture*, with three ancient creeds,—the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, were made the standard of belief without the traditions or decrees of the Pope.

Justification by Faith, not for any merit or work done by us, but for the merits of the blood and passion of the Lord Jesus Christ alone;—in the next breath, auricular confession and penance, are enjoined as essential to salvation.

Marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, and orders, were no longer mentioned as sacraments; on the other hand, the people were required to believe "that in the sacrament of the altar, un-

der the form of bread, there was truly and substantially present the same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin." "The Catholics prevailed," says Hume, "in asserting the use of images; the Protestants in warning the people against idolatry." People were still taught to pray to the saints. The prescribed ceremonies of worship were to be regarded as not only good and lawful, but as possessing a mystic signification and power. Such was the use of *priestly vestments*, *holy water*, "*bearing candles on Candlemas day*; giving ashes on *Ash Wednesday*; bearing palms on *Palm Sunday*; creeping to the cross on *Good Friday*; hallowing the fount, and other exercises and benedictions."

The article on Purgatory, says Hume, "contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixtures of the two tenets: the people were to believe it good and charitable to pray for the souls of the departed; but since the place they were in, and the pain they suffered, were uncertain by Scripture, people ought to remit them to God's mercy. Therefore all abuses of the doctrine ought to be put away, and the people disengaged from believing that Popish masses, or prayers, said in certain places and before certain images, could deliver souls out of purgatory."

In the meantime the Pope was endeavoring to spirit up the people and clergy to rebellion; but not succeeding in this, he fulminated his sentence of excommunication against the whole kingdom; declared the king destitute of any title to the crown; forbade his subjects to obey him, and all princes to correspond with him. The clergy were commanded to depart from the kingdom, and the nobility to rise in arms against the king. For all this the king took ample vengeance on the adherents of the Pope, and pushed on the Reformation with great vigor. He enjoined it upon the clergy to publish twice a quarter that the Pope's power was usurped, and without authority of Scripture; to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments, in English; and ordered that every incumbent should explain these, one article a day, till the people were instructed in them. Thus the very things, for which so many of the followers of Wickliffe and Luther had been burnt, were now enjoined by authority of the king.

A book was now put forth by the command of the king, entitled "THE INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN," but more commonly called THE BISHOPS' BOOK, having been composed by *Cranmer*, the bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich, Ely, *Latimer*, bishop of Worcester, and the bishops of Salisbury, Hereford, St. Davids, and some other divines. This book contained an explanation of the Lord's prayer, the Creed, the Sacraments,

the commandments, the Ave Maria, the doctrines of justification and purgatory, according to the theology of the times.

One thing is worthy of notice, as showing that the modern notion of the Divine right of Bishops, as an order superior to Presbyters, was not then even dreamed of by the heads of the Church of England. This book, "The Institution of a Christian man," declares that "*In the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or orders but only of Deacons (or ministers) and of Priests (or Bishops);*" thus renouncing all claim of Divine authority for more than *two orders* of clergy. This book was subscribed by the two archbishops, by nineteen bishops, by the lower house of Convocation; and was put forth with the whole authority of the Church and the king, its acknowledged head.

The careful manner in which the opinions of this book were drawn up, is worthy of notice. A committee of the highest dignitaries of the Church, and of the most learned divines in the kingdom was previously called to sit and deliberate upon matters of religion. The topics which they were to examine were divided into heads and proposed in questions. These were given out to the bishops and divines, and at a set time every one brought in his opinion in writing on all the heads. Then all conferred on points of difference until they were able to agree on something to lay before the Convocation. One of these conferences was held in 1537, or 1538; and one of the papers drawn up was entitled "*A Declaration of the functions and Divine institution of Bishops and Priests.*" This paper, signed by Cranmer and a large number of bishops and priests, contains the following passage: "*In the New Testament, there is no mention made of any degrees or distinction in orders, but only of Deacons (or ministers) and Priests (or bishops);*" thus deliberately denying the existence of more than two orders of permanent Church officers in the New Testament; and making bishops and presbyters identical. Again in 1540, a commission sitting with Cranmer at their head, declared, says Bishop Burnet, "That the Scripture makes express mention of only *two orders, Priests and Deacons.*"

Three years after this, another book was published, entitled "*THE NECESSARY ERUDITION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN;*" corrected by the king's hand, and approved by the parliament as the authoritative faith of the nation. This book likewise asserts that *Bishops and Priests are of the same order*, and limits the number of scriptural Church officers to *two orders*, Bishops (or Priests) and Deacons.

Here, perhaps, I ought to notice a singular statement made in a recent work on Episcopacy, entitled "*A view of the or-*

ganization and order of the Primitive Church ;”* a work widely and earnestly circulated and extolled by the advocates of Episcopacy in this quarter. This book also quotes these passages concerning the two orders, from the “*Institution*” and from the “*Erudition of a Christian man* ;” but maintains that Cranmer and his coadjutor *were not Reformers* when they penned these documents ; and that to quote them as evidence of what the Reformers thought, “*is gross misrepresentation.*” Indeed, the author of this work earnestly argues that when Cranmer and his coadjutors were *Reformers*, in the days of King Edward, they were of another opinion, and maintained the *Divine right* of Bishops as above Presbyters. The statements in the “*Institution*” and the “*Erudition*,” he says, “*were the opinions of these men as Romanists, and not as Reformers ; and the man who quotes them as such, is either too IGNORANT to write, or too DISHONEST to be trusted.*”†

It so happens that the learned and celebrated *Stillingfleet*, more than a century ago, had occasion to refer to the opinions of the *Reformers* upon these points ; and not only maintained, but *proved*, by a reference to original manuscript documents,—the best of all possible evidence, that the views of the Reformers were precisely these, and that too at the brightest point of the Reformation.

Says *Stillingfleet*, “*I doubt not to make it evident, that before these late unhappy times, the main grounds for settling Episcopal government in the nation, WAS NOT ACCOUNTED ANY PRETENCE OF DIVINE RIGHT, but the CONVENIENCY of that form of government to the state of this Church at the time of its Reformation.*” And here he says, “*I meddle not with the times of Henry VIII., when I will not deny but the first quickening of the Reformation might be ; I date the birth of it from the first settlement of that most excellent prince Edward VI.*” Then passing by the times of Henry VIII., into the times of the undoubted Reformation, he points out the steps by which the lower house of the Convocation obtained liberty of proceeding in the work of Reformation : for otherwise the law forbade them to agitate the question. He gives the petitions at length. He relates how a select assembly of bishops and divines were gathered at Windsor Castle, by King Edward’s special order, to digest matters preparatory to a thorough Reformation. Here were *Cranmer*, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Rochester, London, Carlisle, and others of the most distinguished of the reform-

* By A. B. Chapin.

† These passages had been so quoted by *Dr. Dwight* in his *Theology*, and by *Dr. Hawes*, in his “*Tribute to the memory of the Pilgrims* ;” I know not to whom else these savory epithets may be considered as having a designed and special reference.

ing divines. They followed the same course as the committee in the time of Henry VIII.: each one giving his opinion in writing, on several questions previously propounded to all; and when all was agreed upon, the result was recorded in *Cranmer's own hand*. From that manuscript of Cranmer, Stillingfleet copies the evidence in question. I can give only a small part, and refer those who would see it in its whole extent, to Stillingfleet's "*Irenicum*," where it is to be found.

Question 10. "*Whether bishops or priests were first; and if the priest, then the priest made the bishop?*" Answer. "*The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but one office in the beginning of the Christian religion.*"

Question 11. "*Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest, by Scripture, or no; and whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest?*" Answer. "*A bishop may make a priest, by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, by that authority God committed to them; and THE PEOPLE ALSO BY ELECTION.*" "For as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors have done it. And THE PEOPLE, before Christian princes were, COMMONLY DID ELECT their bishops and priests."

Question 12. "*Whether in the New Testament be required any CONSECRATION of a bishop or priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?*" Answer. "*In the New Testament to be a bishop or priest needeth no consecration, by the Scripture: for ELECTION or APPOINTING is sufficient.*"

Question 14. "*Whether it be forefended by God's law that if it is so fortun'd that all the bishops and priests were dead, and that the Word of God should be unpreached, the sacrament of baptism and others unministered, that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?*" Answer. "*It is not against God's law; but contrary indeed they ought so to do; and there be histories that witness that some Christian princes and other laymen unconsecrated have done the same.*"

To these declarations Cranmer subscribed his own hand, with the affirmation, "THIS IS MY OPINION AT THE PRESENT. *Thomas Cantuariensis*."

Stillingfleet goes on to accumulate evidence upon evidence, showing how long, and on what high authority, the same view was held in the Church of England. He goes through the days of Queen Elizabeth, and shows that in the articles of religion agreed upon respecting the English form of Church government, that form was only described as being "*agreeable*" [meaning not contradictory] "to God's Word." "Which had been," says Stillingfleet, "a very low and diminishing expression, had they looked upon it as *absolutely prescribed and deter-*

mined in scripture." He continues:—"The first who appeared in vindication of the English hierarchy was Archbishop Whitgift" [in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth], "whom we cannot suppose either ignorant of the sense of the Church of England, or afraid, or unwilling to defend it." Yet he frequently (against Cartwright) asserts, "*That the form of discipline is not particularly and by name set down in Scripture:*"—and again,—"*No kind of government is expressed in the word or can necessarily be concluded from them:*" which he repeats, over and over again; "*No form of Church government is by the Scripture prescribed to, or commanded in the Church of God.*" Stillingfleet goes on to show the same from *Dr. Cosins*, *Dr. Lowe*, Bishop *Bridges*; and adds, "They who please to consult the 3d book of the *learned and judicious Master Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, may see the *MUTABILITY* of the form of Church government *largely asserted and fully proved.*"

Indeed the Hierarchy found it impossible to defend themselves against the Puritans on any other ground. The Puritans showed, not only that there is no authority for the Episcopacy, but that the Word of God gives directions on the subject of Church government, inconsistent with that scheme. The advocates of the Hierarchy uniformly asserted the authority of the civil government, or of the Church, to *establish* or *change* the form of Church polity, according to circumstances. "Yea," says Stillingfleet, "this is so plain and evident to have been the chief opinion of the divines of the Church of England, that Parker" [the Puritan] "looks upon it as one of the main foundations of the Hierarchy, and sets himself might and main to oppose it."

"If we come still lower," says Stillingfleet, "to the time of king James, his majesty himself declared it in print as his judgment, that "It is granted to every Christian king, prince, and commonwealth, to prescribe within its own jurisdiction, that external form of church government, which approaches as much as possible to its own form of civil administration." But we cannot delay here even to enumerate the additional items of the abundant proof which Stillingfleet adduces. Those who will consult his "*Trenicum*," will perceive that his proof is absolute demonstration of the position, that the Reformers of the Church of England, and their successors for a long course of years, rested the warrant for the Episcopal office and jurisdiction, not upon any *pretence* of *divine right*; but upon grounds by which, to adopt the language of Stillingfleet), "*The divine right of Episcopacy, as founded upon apostolical practice, is quite subverted and destroyed.*"

I know not how it is, that in the face of all this array of facts, the writer in question, in his "*PRIMITIVE CHURCH*," has been led into the error of saying, that in the *Erudition of a Christian man*

(published in the reign of Henry VIII.), "IS THE LAST THAT WE HEAR OF THAT OPINION,"—viz., that Bishops, as above Presbyters, were not originally of divine right; but that Bishops and Priests were of the same order.

To proceed with the narrative:—The "*Necessary Erudition of a Christian man*" became the standard doctrine of the Church of England; for by Statute it had been enacted, "That all decrees and ordinances, which shall be made and ordained by the Archbishops and doctors, and shall be published with the king's advice and confirmation by his letters patent, in and upon matters of Christian faith, and lawful rites and ceremonies; shall be in every point thereof obeyed and performed, to all intents and purposes." Thus the Parliament had given to the king the prerogatives of infallibility, and bound themselves and the kingdom to receive upon trust, without question or examination, whatever dogmas or ceremonies the king and prelates should be pleased to establish.

It was indeed provided that nothing should be established contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm; but this was at that period no defence, and was only introduced to serve the king's purposes. "By introducing confusion and contradiction into the laws," says Hume, "he became more master of every man's property. Room was left for the civil courts to interfere with the ecclesiastical, whenever it became a question what ecclesiastical requisitions were contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm. What the king meant as an instrument of tyranny, became, in the lapse of time, one of the strongest defences against ecclesiastical oppression."

But no *Institution* or *Erudition*, no laws, imprisonments or burnings, sufficed to repress the rising Reformation. The more effectually to accomplish this end Henry now caused the law to be passed commonly known under the name of the BLOODY STATUTE; informing his parliament "That it was his majesty's earnest desire, to *extirpate* from his kingdom all *diversity of opinion* in matters of religion." There were certain points which answered the purpose of a Shibboleth, to sift those who happened to be tinctured with Protestant views; and against these the six articles of the Bloody Statute were aimed. The 1st declared, that after the consecration of the elements in the Lord's Supper, there remains *no longer bread*, but the *real natural body of Christ*.

The 2d maintained the necessity of communion in one kind alone.

The 3d insisted upon the celibacy of the clergy.

The 4th upon the perpetual obligations of vows of chastity.

The 5th, the benefit of private masses ; and the 6th the necessity of auricular confession.

"If any did speak, preach, or write" against the 1st, they should be judged heretics and burnt without any benefit of abjurations. Their real and personal estate was forfeit to the king. Those who should preach or dispute against the other articles were to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy ; and those, who either in word or writing declared against the articles, were to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, forfeit goods and chattels for the first offence, and for the second, suffer death ; "An unheard of severity," says Hume, "and unknown to the Inquisition itself."

It was not long before five hundred persons were in prison, under the operation of this statute ; but so great was the influence of Cranmer and Cromwell that these were pardoned. *Lattimer* spoke against the act, and was imprisoned till the king's death. *Shaxton*, bishop of Salisbury, spoke against the article, and resigned ; but being threatened with fire, he turned apostate ; and in the days of Queen Mary, proved a cruel persecutor.

To complete the system of despotism under which England groaned, the same parliament gave to the king's proclamation the force of the statute law : and, "What proves," says Hume, "either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that even after this statute, they pretended to maintain some limitation in the government. To fill up the measure of their treason against justice and right, they passed an attainder against sixteen persons who had become obnoxious to the king's dislike ;—some under pretence of their having denied the king's supremacy ; and others without mention of any crime ;—persons who had never been convicted ;—no, nor brought to trial ;—no, nor ever arraigned or formally accused. They were condemned and destroyed,—without accusation, trial, or defence,—by a sovereign act of parliament !

While the king waged this exterminating warfare against Protestants, he was equally violent against the partizans of the Pope ; so that a stranger who was in England at the time, was not far from the truth when he remarked, that "Those who were against the Pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged."

But how could popish doctrines be maintained by dungeons and faggots, while the Bible was left to speak to the people ? The BIBLE was at length discovered to be the GREAT ARCH-HERETIC, after all ; and like other heretics, if it could not be silenced, it must be burned. There were indeed only five hundred copies of the Bible in the common tongue, known to be in the whole realm : for that was the extent of the impression.

These were chained in the churches, and few people could read, yet those few could read to their neighbors, and their neighbors could tell what they had heard. Henry perceived that the Bible was no more compatible with his despotism over the understanding and the conscience of the people, than it was with the despotism of the Pope.

Accordingly the Bible was by statute forbidden to be read in English in any church. No woman, or artificer, or apprentices, journeymen, husbandmen, or laborers, "were to read the New Testament in English. If any spiritual person should be convicted of maintaining anything contrary to the king's instructions already made, he should for the first offence recant; for the second bear a faggot; for the third be burned."

Thus stood the Reformation in England, when Henry was summoned away by death on the 28th of January, A. D. 1547.

England was severed from the Popedom, with immense gain to its prosperity and political independence. It was indeed a mighty movement to transfer the supremacy of the Church from the Pope to the king; as no superstitious reverence belonged to the latter, such as kept the people in abject subjection to the infallibility and ghostly power of the former. But for the present, nothing was gained for civil or religious freedom. The English had lost in both these respects. But Henry could not live for ever. The seeds of truth, which he vainly strove to suppress, had taken root; and in the next age they began to yield their fruit. The laws which he designed for the purpose of establishing his tyrannical power, and of crushing the Reformation, afforded in the next age the means of pushing forward the Reformation with greater rapidity than the natural progress of truth. Of course, things were ready for a re-action in the next succeeding age; and the same supremacy, with the same laws enacted to sustain it, gave the bloody Mary power to carry England back once more to the bosom of Rome. So impotent is power to resist the progress of truth: so useless is violence to push forward reform faster than the truth itself makes progress.

Had the Church been severed from the State; with the Word of God, aside from tradition, the sole standard of faith and duty: had the hierarchy—that excrescence upon the simple institutions of Christ,—not been in existence; had the *people* been free to follow the Word of God, calling "*no man master*,"—how swiftly, and how surely would the Reformation have spread over England! What untold sorrows; what tears; what burnings and blood might have been spared! Had it not been for the obstruction of hierarchical power, and *Church* authority and *tradition*, how many times would the incipient Reformation,—which so often broke out in Italy, in France, and in Spain,—have gone

on to its completion ! But the Inquisition, and the sword, though they could not resist the arguments of the witnesses, could yet destroy the witnesses themselves. Let the *people* guard their rights. Let them distrust the wisdom and kindness of those who would bring in the traditions, and ceremonies, and formulas of a usurping hierarchy,—as a safer bulwark of their liberties than the simple Word of God. THE WORD OF GOD ; with no bond upon the conscience ; no impediment upon the judgment, to compel men to interpret it according to the decisions of a pretended Catholic tradition ;—this is the BEST FRIEND OF FREEDOM and of the rights of man ; this is the best,—the only divine bulwark,—of the truth. Let it be for Prelates and Popes to decry the exercise and even the right of private judgment, and to proclaim a human production,—a prayer book—as a safer standard than the Word of God. *Our fathers have taught us to “count nothing old that will not stand by the Word of God ; and nothing new, that will.”* The Word of God, and no tradition : the Word of God, our *immediate* instructor, with no *authoritative interpreter between* to hush its voice or to enchain our understanding ; THE WORD OF GOD—UNBOUND AND FREE !—this is our principle ; the watchword of freedom : the watch-cry of everlasting truth.

IV.

REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

Persecutions stopped. Doctrinal disputes revived. Book of Homilies.

First service book: revised: never satisfactory to the Reformers. Supposed necessity of forming such a liturgy as to keep the Popish people in the Church. Discrepancy between the Articles and Offices. Prayer Book an equivocal standard: fairly quoted by each of two irreconcilable schemes. The question of a Liturgy. No right anywhere to impose one. Imposed not by the Church, but by Parliament and Council. Uniformity enforced. Reforming the Ordinal. Rise of the Puritans.

EDWARD VI. came to the throne in the 10th year of his age, A.D. 1547, seventy-three years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

The directorship of the faith and worship of the kingdom having been vested in the crown, it now fell into the hands of the Executive council, named by Henry VIII., and of the young king; who had been trained under instructors selected by Cranmer, and early imbued with the true principles of the gospel.

By all Protestant authorities, Edward VI. is regarded, for his enlightened views, his solid judgment beyond his years, and his conscientious regard for righteousness and truth, the wonder of his age. He was surrounded by a bright galaxy of Reformers. There was the meek and guileless *Cranmer*, whom the truth and the Spirit of God had led from the darkness of Popery to a discovery of the way of life through faith in Christ alone; and yet he had been so gradually led, that he always retained the confidence of that tyrant monster Henry VIII., who would in an instant have committed him to the flames, had he dreamed that his favorite was capable of ever exchanging the dogmas of popery for the doctrines of the Reformation. There, too, was the venerable and true-hearted *Latimer*, the zealous *Hooper*, the eloquent *Ridley*, and *John Rogers*, and *Miles Coverdale*; of whom the last three had been among those who fled into exile for conscience' sake, in the reign of Henry; and who were now welcomed back to their native land. There were also many others whose names are to be had in high honor by

all who love the truth as it is in Jesus, and who know what the true gospel and religious liberty are worth.

These were good men and true Reformers; still they were men, and were surrounded with difficulties. Many of the great principles concerning the proper limit of civil or ecclesiastical power, and concerning the rights of conscience, had never been discussed. If, therefore, the Reformation was conducted, in some measure, on principles inconsistent with itself, that was the fault not so much of the Reformers as of the times. If in some respects they progressed too slowly to suit the more zealous; if in some respects they did not carry the Reformation so far as purity in doctrine and worship demanded, they themselves saw and deplored it; and had the times allowed, they would certainly have carried the Reformation further. They were by no means of the opinion of some at the present day, that all was done which a regard for purity in worship demanded; much less were they of the opinion of those who now lament that the Reformation was carried too far.

No sooner was King Henry in his grave than it appeared that a majority of those whom he had selected to compose the Executive Council during the minority of the young king, were strongly in favor of the Reformation; and that majority embraced the most important members, with Hereford the Protector, and Cranmer the Archbishop of Canterbury, at their head. The ample power put into their hands they determined to wield in favor of a Reformation, with as much energy as was consistent with prudence.

The persecution under the bloody six Articles, was stopped. The prison doors were thrown open. The exiles from the kingdom for conscience' sake were recalled. The reforming preachers opened their mouths once more. The defenders of Popery hurled back their defiance. *Ridley* preached against images; the people in some places began to remove them from the churches. *Gardiner* raised his voice in defence of the images, and vainly tried by legal prosecutions to crush those who ventured to destroy them. *Ridley* decried the use of such things as Holy Water, and consecrated candles. *Gardiner* wrote an elaborate "Apology for Holy Water," which he maintained "might be made by the divine power, an instrument of much good." From the dispute about superstitious instruments and observances, the contest descended to the very foundations of faith; bringing into conflict the two great opposing schemes, Popery and the Reformation; justification by sacraments, masses, absolutions, and ceremonials,—or justification by faith alone, to the exclusion of all account of any priestly interventions whatever.

The council determined on a general visitation of all the

dioceses in the kingdom. The most eloquent and influential of the Reforming divines were appointed to accompany the visitors ; to preach everywhere the great truths of religion, and to bring the people off from the old superstitions. Thirty-six injunctions were sent from the King, to be everywhere observed, requiring, among other things, the observance of the laws against the Pope's supremacy ; directing the clergy to preach once a quarter against pilgrimages and praying to images ; commanding that such images as had been abused with pilgrimages and offerings, should be taken down ; forbidding processions about churchyards and all ringing of bells before high mass, save one ; requiring all shrines, candlesticks, trindrills, rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles to be removed ; requiring the churches each to be furnished with a Bible within three months ; and within twelve months, with Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament, and enjoining the Bible to be read in all the churches.

A BOOK OF HOMILIES, consisting of twelve discourses on the topics most important at the time, and containing a vindication of the doctrines of the Reformation, was ordered to be left with every parish priest, who was enjoined to read these Homilies to the people.

When the Parliament met in 1547, they concurred in the line of policy pursued by the Council. The laws against Lollardism were repealed. The bloody statute of the six Articles was repealed. The Act giving to the King's proclamation the force of law, was repealed. This was indeed the dawning of liberty to the people of England.

The Council struck once more at superstitious ceremonies and customs ; candles were no longer to be carried on Candlemas day ; nor ashes on Ash-Wednesday ; nor palms on Palm Sunday. All images were ordered to be removed from the churches.

These innovations amounted almost to a total change of the established religion. Indeed such it was designed to be. It was not the ceremony or the image alone that was concerned, but in these symbols the whole system of Popery was intended to be assailed. But the outward reform was now carried by the hand of power beyond the progress of light. The great body of the priests and the people had not yet understood the truth ; and were not ripe for these external changes. The debate of words now began to reach the crisis of violence. The king thereupon issued his proclamation requiring these contentions to cease, and signifying his intention of soon having one uniform order throughout the realm. Till that order could be set forth, all manner of persons were forbidden to preach save by special license, either in the pulpit or otherwise.

This was the origin of the first *Service book* or *Liturgy* of King Edward VI. A committee of divines, with Cranmer at their head, were appointed to reform the Offices of the Church. They began with the *Eucharist*. This, instead of a communion or commemoration of the death of Christ, had become "A sort of mystical ceremony, chiefly for the alleged purpose of delivering souls out of purgatory; and was claimed to be a real propitiatory sacrifice and offering of the body and blood of Christ, which the priest wrought for the forgiveness of sins." This was now changed into a communion in both kinds. In other respects the office of the mass was left very much "as it stood." Out of the *Romish Missals* of *Sarum*, *York*, *Hereford*, and *Bangor* (for Popery had never required a uniform liturgy in England), they compiled the *Morning and Evening Service* "almost in the same form as it stands at present."—[Neale.] From the same materials they compiled a *Litany*, "the same now used," except the petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities; which petition, in the review of the Liturgy under Queen Elizabeth, was struck out.

In the ministration of *baptism*, a cross was to be made on the child's forehead and breast: the devil was to be exorcised; the child was to be *dipped* (not *immersed*, as some pretend) three times in the font: on the right side, on the left, and on the breast, if not weak.

In the office of *burial*, the soul of the departed was to be recommended to the mercy of God; the minister was to pray that the sins which he had committed in this world might be forgiven; that he might be admitted into heaven and his body raised at the last day.

By the law of Parliament, all divine offices were to be performed according to this book from the feast of Whitsunday, 1549. "Such of the clergy as refused, or officiated in any other manner, should, upon the first conviction, suffer six months' imprisonment, and forfeit a year's profit of their benefices. For the second conviction, the offender was to forfeit all his church preferments, and suffer a year's imprisonment. Such as wrote or printed against the Liturgy were to be fined £10 for the first offence; £20 for the second; and for the third, forfeit all their goods and be imprisoned for life."

The people exhibited great unwillingness to give up their ancient rituals: and to put it out of their power to observe them, the clergy were ordered to deliver up the articles which composed the gear of popish service; such as "antiphonals, missals, grails, processional, legends, portuasses," and other things of like sort; of which we, in our simplicity, at the present day, scarcely know the uses or the names. "All who had in their

houses images that had belonged to any church, were required to deface them; and to dash out of their primers all prayers to the saints."

If worship was to be performed by the use of a prescribed and uniform liturgy, the Liturgy now established was probably reformed as far as the times allowed. The Papists would not endure any more; the Protestants would not be satisfied with less: to suit the exigency of the times the Liturgy was cautiously framed, while it was not all that those who framed it desired. In 1552, it underwent a revision. Some things were added; some that had been retained through the necessity of the times, were stricken out. A rubric was added concerning the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; declaring that no adoration was intended to the bread and wine; nor did they think that the very flesh and blood of Christ were there present. This was afterwards struck out by Queen Elizabeth to give latitude to the Papists; much to the grief of the Puritans: but in the reign of Charles II. it was, at their instance, again inserted. Sundry old rites which had been retained in the former book were discontinued, as, the use of oil in confirmation and extreme unction; prayer for the dead; and the use of the cross in confirmation and the eucharist. By this book of common-prayer, "All *copies* were forbidden throughout England; the prebendaries of St. Paul left their *hoods*, and the bishops their *crosses*." [*Strype, in Neale.*] "In short, the whole liturgy was reduced to the form in which it now appears, excepting some small variations that have since been made."—[*Neale.*]

That the Prayer Book contains many and very great excellences, all will readily acknowledge. Its compilers, however, never thought of it as a standard, beyond which the Reformation was never to advance. On the contrary, they lamented that the state of the nation rendered it impracticable to cleanse it further from the defilements of Popery. Cranmer was never satisfied with the Liturgy; and designed a thorough alteration, if not an entire change; King Edward was not satisfied with this, or with the discipline of the Church, and laments in his diary, that he could "not restore the primitive discipline according to his heart's desire, because of several of the bishops, some for age, some for ignorance, some out of love to Popery, were unwilling to it."

The desire for further reformation appears in the sermons of *Lattimer*, *Hooper*, *Bradford*, and others. John A'Lasco wrote, "that King Edward desired that the rites and ceremonies used under Popery should be purged out by degrees; that it was his pleasure that strangers should have churches to perform all things *according to apostolical observations only*, that by this means, the *English churches might be excited to embrace apostolic purity* with

the unanimous consent of the states of the kingdom." It was left written in the preface to one of the service books, that "They had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church, considering the times they lived in, and hoped that they that came after them, would, as they might, do more."

Stillingfleet [Irenicum, p. 58] speaking of the causes which induced the reformed French churches, in order to please the Papists, to insert into their prayer-books "that which men would scarcely believe unless they saw it," says, "The same temper was used by our reformers in composing our Liturgy, in reference to the *Papists*; to whom they had an especial eye, as being the only party then appearing in the Church, *whom they desired to draw into their communion by coming as near to them as they well and safely could.*"*

That this might be good state policy it is not necessary to question. Whether such a veering between Popery and the Reformation, was likely to secure a liturgy and discipline so pure as to satisfy all devout and conscientious men, is quite another affair. Certain it is, that the Reformers were not satisfied with that Book of Common Prayer, which it is now the custom to extol with praises extravagant and almost idolatrous. The *articles* were made such as the Reformers would have them, and are, as a system, a noble monument of a pure and enlightened faith. The *OFFICES* of the Prayer-Book,—drawn from popish originals, and left with the rituals and vestments retaining as much of the shape and fashion and savor of Popery as would render them not idolatrous;—and so left by the Reformers only for the present, with the hope of further amendment when the times should allow it;—these *offices* contain many things which it is not hard to interpret into a close alliance with Popery itself. They still inculcate the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. In the Lord's Supper they are not expurgated from the *consecrations*, the *oblations*, and other popish appendages, which left King James so much reason to say that it was but "An ill mumbled mass."

To this origin of the Liturgy, and to this desire of "Keeping the popish people in the Church," it is owing—as I conceive,—that the *Evangelical* and the *Tractarian* parties in the Episcopal Church at the present day, both appeal with so much justice and with such entire confidence, to the same Prayer-Book as favoring

* Indeed in after times, when the Liturgy was finally settled under Elizabeth, this design of so arranging the Liturgy and ceremonials as to "keep the popish people in the church," was boldly avowed and defended as a matter of necessary policy. Thus *Maddox*, who wrote more than a hundred years ago against Neale's History of the Puritans, and afterwards was rewarded with a bishopric, hesitates not to avow that "As the nation in *general* was *popish*, it plainly appeared an act of great compassion to many thousand souls, as well as *necessary to the Queen's safety*, and the success of the Reformation, to CONTRIVE, if it were possible, SUCH A FORM OF WORSHIP, without idolatry, which might KEEP THE POPISH PEOPLE IN THE CHURCH."

each of their discordant and irreconcilable schemes. It does so favor them. The Reformation was purposely so mingled with Popery in that book as to quiet the Protestants if possible, and at all events to "keep the popish people in the Church;" and hence its double interpretation;—its "iron mixed with the miry clay."

The Bishop of Connecticut, in his recent charge, is pleased to draw a comparison between that *Prayer-Book* and the *Bible alone*, as a standard of "*faith and worship*;" making the Prayer-Book, in spite of its mongrel origin, and its motley compromise between the Reformation and Popery—a much better and safer standard than the Word of God! He commiserates the lot of those who have "*the Bible alone*," for their "only standard of *faith*," as being possessed of no "*sufficient bond of union and stability*." He anticipates for *them* nothing but *division, error, fanaticism*, and "ignorance!" He contrasts the Episcopal Church with these, as being surrounded by "desolation"—"an Oasis in the desert;"—and declares that this happy result "has been mainly effected" by having "this *Book of Common Prayer* A STANDARD OF FAITH AND WORSHIP!"

But what bond of union and stability is this Prayer-Book? Never were schemes more diametrically opposed, each so justly drawn and so logically defended from the same standard; and that owing to the worldly and wavering policy used in making it up. Indeed, why should not the same book blow hot and cold now as well as in the days of Queen Elizabeth? Why should it not be able to "keep popish people in the Church," now as well as then? See what diversities are existing—yes *conflicting*—under this bond of union and faith, boasted as so much better than the Bible. Mr. *Newman*, the pillar of Oxford Tractarianism, says, that "In the English Church, *we shall hardly find ten or twenty neighboring clergymen who agree together*; and that not in the non-essentials of religion; *but as to what are its elementary and necessary doctrines, or whether there are any necessary doctrines at all*; any distinct and definite faith required for salvation." Yet all make their appeal to the Prayer-Book.

Says the Bishop of Ohio, "*What the articles and homilies so distinctly teach, that system*" [Tractarianism] "*directly denies; most earnestly condemns,—and most indignantly casts away.*"

On the other hand, the Bishop of New Jersey responds, "*He*" [Pusey] "*is no nearer, on my word, to Rome, than the Liturgy and offices of the Church of England and of her sister in America go with him.*"

The Bishop of Ohio rejoins:—"Their mode of representing the way of salvation is ANOTHER GOSPEL to us; another to the Church to whose doctrines we are pledged."

"*My confidence in the doctrinal integrity of the Oxford writers continues unshaken,*" responds the Bishop of New Jersey.

"The difference," replies *Bishop MacIlvaine*, "between this divinity and the true divinity for which our Reformers gave themselves to death, is a *difference of great VITAL DOCTRINE*; not one of doctrine merely, but of the *SYSTEM of doctrine from corner-stone to roof*; a difference which makes so great a gulf between, that according to the Oxford divines themselves, it makes *the one side or the other ANOTHER GOSPEL*." "It is little else than *popery restrained*,—essentially Romish divinity,"—"of the house and lineage of popery."*

It is plain that the Prayer-Book speaks Popery in Maryland, and Protestantism in Ohio;—according to the authoritative decision of the respective heads of the Church in those Dioceses: while as Bishop Brownell describes these differences, as only "*slight shades of difference which tincture the views of different members of our household of faith,*"—the same book should seem to teach in Connecticut a mongrel theology compounded indifferently of the two.

It is only by such indifference that these discordant schemes can ever be made to cease their conflict. If one system is laid down in the *Articles*, it is no less plain that the *Offices* contain the germ and essence of the other; and most manfully is this maintained and triumphantly established by those who hold the system of the Tractarians. The true solution, I apprehend, has been given in the origin of the *Offices*, and in the policy which made them what they are. It does seem that in the providence of God, these hot contentions are allowed to rise, as if in solemn rebuke of the presumption which has dared to set up that Prayer-Book—in fact as an idol—a safer bond of union and stability than God's own holy and perfect Word.

That the Liturgy was framed from the old mass-books, whatever reason it may have afforded for reprehension at the time, is at the present day no manner of objection. If things are good in themselves, they are not to be rejected simply because they have been used by Rome. If there were attending evils at the time, there was at least this advantage, that those who were enamored of Popery would be less offended with the change, when they knew that so much of that to which they had been accustomed, was retained in the Liturgy which they were now required to use.

Nor was the question of a Liturgy at all the same in that day with what it is at present. It had been the custom. A very

* And yet that same Bishop in a few short months can join with the General Convention in a thanksgiving, that all is so united and regular in the Episcopal Church.

large majority of the clergy were too ignorant to conduct public worship without one. It was then, as it is at present, in the English Church, that no practical and heartfelt acquaintance with vital religion was a requisite qualification for one who was to have the care of souls. In a national Church,—or in a Church which relies on Baptismal regeneration, and gathers its members indiscriminately by “street rows” or parishes,—it is manifest that an attempt to require such qualifications in the priesthood must be both futile and absurd. It is a mercy to such a Church to have a Liturgy. But in Churches founded on evangelical principles, and making a distinction between the pious and the profane in gathering their members; in Churches where in addition to the gifts of nature and education, the gifts of grace are also required in the ministry, so far as these things may be determined by careful scrutiny;—in such Churches the question of Liturgy assumes another form. Our most intelligent and devoted Churches have not found themselves either shocked or starved by the use of extemporary prayer. On the contrary, they have felt that their devotions were more satisfactorily led; and their varied wants and thanksgivings more appropriately uttered. Besides this, it is perhaps one of the very best available tests and safeguards of their ministry, that their ministers are to lead the devotions of God’s people with prayer conceived in their own hearts. How difficult for any man long to play the counterfeiter here! How soon the leanness of the minister’s heart appears to a devout and spiritual people! What an appalling barrier to such as do not love to pray, and who have not acquired a facility of leading the devotions of public worship, by habits of earnest and frequent prayer!

Aside from such considerations, and from the considerations of our ever varying circumstances and wants, the question of worshipping God with or without a Liturgy, is a matter of taste or expediency, concerning which individual Churches and ministers should be left free to adopt their own course; rather than a question of principle or obligation about which Christians should ever contend.

But if any pretend a right to *impose* a Liturgy upon individual Churches or ministers, that right we deny. We know no Catholic, national, provincial, or diocesan authority, which has the right to make such an imposition. We question both the *imposition* and the *pretended authority*. The *power* assumed is a usurpation both of the authority of God and of the rights of man; and the *thing imposed* under penalty of exclusion from the ministry, of excommunication—(and in the case of the Puritans, by fines, imprisonments, or banishment) is a sheer human invention. With our Puritan ancestors we deny the right

of any human authority to impose *rites, ceremonies* and *Liturgies*, as a necessary part of the public worship of God.

If an appeal be made to antiquity, as though we had abandoned ancient or apostolic usage; then we affirm, 1st, that the present Liturgies and forms make no pretence to Apostolica rise or institution; 2d, we deny that a Liturgy at all, is anything more than a corruption of the simplicity of primitive and apostolic times; and 3d, we affirm that the liberty is perfect (even if the duty be not plain) of rejecting all *imposed* rites and ceremonies for the worship of God, which are not ordered by the only *authoritative* rule, his holy and perfect Word.

The authority which framed and imposed the English Liturgy was the *Council and Parliament*: the STATE AND NOT THE CHURCH. It was not laid before the Convocation, nor any representative body of the clergy. Its origin was neither Divine nor Ecclesiastical.

Uniformity being now established by law, and rigidly enforced, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities set themselves to the further guarding of that uniformity and to the suppression of alleged heresies. The dreadful excess of the Anabaptists in Germany, had caused their very name to be regarded with alarm and horror by the governments of Europe. In the previous reign, some who were charged with the name and doctrines of Anabaptism, were seized and burned for that offence. I know of no evidence that they were justly chargeable with the impious and horrid principles of those who had heretofore been known by the name of Anabaptists. They might have been simple-hearted and devout Christians, good subjects; holding only the peculiarities of the present Baptists. And the history of *these* shows, that they have, as a people, ever stood for religious freedom, and for the Word of God alone as of any authority in matters of religion. Though they have not generally shared in the honor,—they shared largely in the perils of the Reformation. In the fundamental principles of their creed, in their worship and discipline, and in their struggle for religious and civil freedom, they too were among the *Puritans*.

People of this persuasion now began to appear in some numbers in England, and agreed with many others in their reluctance to conform to the established ceremonies and Liturgy. A commission was appointed to "Examine and search after all *Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners* of common prayer," whom they were authorized, if they could not reclaim them, to excommunicate, imprison, and finally to deliver them to the secular arm. In what respect did this commission differ from the Inquisition? "People had generally thought," says Neale "that

all the *Statutes* for burning had been repealed; but they were now told *that heretics were to be burned by the common law.*"

How strange, that such good men as Cranmer and his coadjutors could ever be so blinded as to engage in such cruelties! How slowly may the minds even of good men come to the light! and how long it takes *one simple principle*,—not of mercy and compassion,—but of RIGHT, to force its way through the opposing prejudices of old customs and old opinions, into the general conviction of the wise and good!

It has been alleged against Calvin,—and many have delighted to repeat it,—that "*Calvin burnt Servetus.*" Calvin did indeed take an active part in conducting the prosecution, and Servetus was condemned,—not simply for heresy, nor for assaults upon Christianity,—but for what was in that day judged to be blasphemy,—in that, among other things, he had called One God in three persons a Cerberus,—a three-headed monster. The cantons of Berne, Zurich and Shaffhausen, to whom the case was referred, replied that Servetus should be punished. The gentle *Melancthon* partook so much of the error of the times, as to approve the sentence of the magistrate. *Farel* approved of it. *Beza* defended the sentence. When the court of Geneva pronounced the sentence of burning, *Calvin* earnestly and importunately begged that the mode of punishment might be changed to a milder death: but the court refused to yield.

It was a horrid deed. And now a similar one, yet more horrid in its details, is to be recorded of that pattern of meekness and gentleness, the pure-minded and upright *Cranmer*. There was a woman named *Joan Bocher*, who had been seized as an Anabaptist, but whose only crime seemed to be the holding of some strange but harmless notions concerning the manner of our Lord's incarnation. To us her notions are a mere confused jargon; in that day they were judged heresy. "She had been known," says *Strype*, "as a great reader of the Scriptures herself; which book she dispersed in court."—"she used, for the more secrecy, to tie the books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into court."—"By so doing, she had jeopardized her life to bring others to a knowledge of God's Word." But neither her excellent character nor her devoted piety could save her. She was condemned to the stake. The king thought it wrong and horrible. He refused to sign her death-warrant. Cranmer was deputed by the council to overcome his scruples. The youthful king, in reverence to the authority of the archbishop, submitted; but with tears solemnly declared, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to Cranmer's authority, Cranmer should answer it to God. Even Cranmer shuddered. He and *Ridley* took the woman to their

houses, and tried every argument to induce her to give up her opinions; but after nearly a year's delay she was committed to the flames. One other person and only one suffered in this manner during this reign. Would that even such a bloody record might never have stood in connection with such venerable and beloved names!

Bonner and *Gardiner* refusing to discharge the duties of their bishoprics according to the new order of things, were deprived; and afterwards, for political offences, imprisoned; but it deserves to be recorded that not one single Romanist suffered death from the hands of the Reformers. *Cranmer* and his coadjutors appear to have seen at length the horrid wickedness of burning people for heresy; for in revising the Canon law under act of Parliament,—which revision was mostly by the hand of *Cranmer*—the punishment of death was no longer to be inflicted. Even then they had not discovered the important principle that no human power has any *right* to inflict pains or penalties for such alleged offences; and that the utmost prerogative of the Church, is to exclude the heretic from her pale. The revised law,—which, however, never took effect, the king dying before he could affix his seal,—required that the heretic should be “Declared infamous, incapable of public trust, or of being witness in any court or of having power to make a will.” Such was the light of those days.

By act of Parliament, the work of reforming the *ORDINAL*,—or forms for ordaining ministers,—was given into the hands of six Prelates and six divines, to be named by the king, and whatever they should arrange and the king should seal with the great seal, was to have the authority of law. I notice the *authority* by which this was done, as another instance of the way in which the Reformation was carried on, and in which the entire service book was framed and established. It was not by *the Church*, but by the *KING AND PARLIAMENT*.*

In the revised *Ordinal*, such offices as subdeacons, readers, acolytes, &c., were dispensed with; and the gloves, the sandals, the mitre, the ring and the crosier were left out. The anointing, the arraying in consecrated vestments, and the delivering of vessels for consecrating the elements in the Eucharist, were also omitted.

* *Chapin*, in his “*Primitive Church*,” has a chapter entitled “*THE ENGLISH REFORMATION CANONICAL*.” That may be so, for aught I care to dispute,—and must be so, if it be “*Canonical*” for the church to be the mere creature of the State, and to suffer the civil power authoritatively to frame, fix, establish, and alter at its pleasure, her ceremonies of worship, her liturgy, her articles of faith; and then to bind the Church to their observance, and require her to bind all her children to the same. If this be not *Canonical*, then it is simple folly to talk about the “*English Reformation*” as “*CANONICAL*.”

The Council in his majesty's name, A. D. 1550, required the Bishops to see that all the *altars* in the churches were taken down, and a communion *table* placed in their room. But why this alteration? The Reformers gave the answer: Because Christ instituted the Sacrament not at an altar, but at a table: Because the Holy Ghost calls it "The Lord's *table*," but never an *altar*: because the altar,—in its name, form, and very idea,—implies a *sacrifice*, and the people have been superstitiously taught to regard the Sacrament as a *sacrifice*, a propitiatory *oblation* of the body of Christ, for the sins of the quick and dead. The altar thus administers to a gross and impious idolatry: many of the people actually worshipping a breaden god; supposing that the very person, soul, and divinity of Christ are present on the altar. Why, therefore, should there be any longer an *altar* without a propitiatory *sacrifice*, by a sacerdotal *Priest*? Let us return to the truth, to the Bible form and name; let us have no more an *altar*, but a table. What want we of an altar, while we have no more a transubstantiation?

We have now come to the period which marks THE RISE OF THE PURITANS. While so many things were struck off from the ancient forms and implements of superstition, there were several other appendages of Popery which those who held the power of reforming determined still to preserve. The thing which gave the first occasion to a debate that at length drew after it the great questions of religious freedom and the limits of civil or ecclesiastical power, was the GARMENTS OF THE PRIESTHOOD: apparently a small matter, but involving the mightiest principles, and the dearest rights that concern the earthly existence of man.

We are willing,—said the more ardent among the Reforming clergy,—to wear distinctive garments of some sort, if you please;—anything decent,—but do not compel us to wear such regimentals of Popery, as will by the people be regarded a badge of the popish faith. The refusal came first from the eloquent and devoted Hooper, who had been appointed Bishop of Gloucester, but who scrupled whether he might, in conscience, submit to be consecrated in popish vestments. The *martyr Hooper thus shares with Wickliffe the immortal honor of being the FATHER OF THE ENGLISH PURITANS.*

The reason for refusing the garments was the same as for demolishing the altars. The garments had been consecrated by popish mummeries, and were supposed to possess a mysterious virtue, like holy water,—which mystic virtue imparted a sacredness and VALIDITY to the acts of the priest who wore them. Indeed, they were at that day very much like the *bishop's hands*, and the "*virtue*" that is by full grown Puseyites at the present

day, supposed to flow from those hands by the mysterious efficiency of *Apostolical succession*; so much so that without the consecrated garments a priest could not be sure that the necessary virtue flowed from his acts to make them *valid*. Accordingly, when Bishop *Latimer* was clad in the garments in order to be ceremoniously divested and degraded previously to his being burned;—as soon as the consecrated robes were torn off from him, he cried out in derision, “*Now I can make no more holy water.*”

John Rogers, the proto-martyr in Queen Mary’s reign, peremptorily refused to wear the garments, unless the popish priests were enjoined to wear upon their sleeves, by way of distinction, a chalice with a host. When Dr. Taylor was clad in the same preparatory to being burned, he walked about saying, “How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? If I were in Cheapside, would not the boys laugh at these foolish toys and apish trumpery?” And when the surplice was pulled off, “Now,” says he, “I am rid of a fool’s coat.” When they were pulling the same off from Archbishop Cranmer, he meekly replied, “All this needed not: I myself had done with this gear long ago.”—[*Neale.*]

Clad in these robes, the priest at the mass was considered (to use the words of Challonar’s Catholic Christian Instructed) “as *Christ’s Vicegerent*, and officiating in his person.” The same author informs us that the *Amice*, the *Alb*, the *girdle*, the *maniple*, the *stole*, the *chasuble*, represent the cloth with which Christ’s face was muffled, the white garment in which he was arrayed, the bands with which he was fastened, and the purple garment which was put on him. The great cross on the back represents the cross which he bore; and the tonsure, the crown of thorns. Such were the superstitions and corruptions with which the priestly garments stood connected. Hooper thought he could not use them without abetting the superstitions of Popery. *Bucer* at Cambridge, and *Peter Martyr* at Oxford, to whom he applied for advice, declared against the garments as the inventions of antichrist. Most of the Reforming clergy agreed with Hooper in opinion. Hooper was thrown into prison because he declined being made a bishop, on condition of being obliged to wear the garments. Afterwards a compromise was effected; Hooper consented to wear the robes at his consecration, and when he preached before the king in his Cathedral, and was allowed a dispensation at other times.

King Edward was now rapidly descending to the grave. The Reformers could do no more. Six years only had been allowed them to begin the work of Reformation, when the Bloody Mary ascended the throne and committed them to the flames.

V.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

Her duplicity. Restoration of Popery. Re-ordination of Clergymen ordained by King Edward's Book. Kingdom reconciled to the Pope. Burning of the Reformers. A Puritan Church discovered: its officers burned. Exiles at Frankfort

It is now 290 years* since the popish Mary came to the crown of England, and interrupted the fair work of the Reformers. Never did the blasting breath of the Sirocco, or the pestilence, mark its course with more ample tokens of its destructive power, than that brief five years' reign of the Bloody Mary. Six years only had elapsed since the death of Henry VIII.; six years only were allowed to the Reformers to effect and consolidate the Reformation; five years more brought the nation back into the chains of Popery, and gave the long list of Reformers to the flames. We can hardly bring our minds to admit the reality that these things transpired in England within the last 300 years.

The character of Mary is no less accurately than briefly drawn in the words of the historian Hume: "Mary possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or indulgence to the opinions of others. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behavior and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, revenge, tyranny, every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding." To this we may add that she most conscientiously thought, that in committing the Reformers to the flames, she was doing the most acceptable service to God.

Her reign was answerable to these principles and this description. The long and sickening details of the horrid cruelties practised, we cannot now pursue to any extent. They should however be read and pondered; and works containing the his-

* 1843.

tory in extended form are now accessible among the cheap publications of the day.*

Mary had promised that she would make no alteration in religion, and to this promise she was in no small measure indebted for her bloodless succession to the throne in opposition to the claims of Lady Jane Grey. Upon this promise the men of Suffolk joined her standard, and at once decided the question. A few days after her entrance into London, she declared in Council, that though her conscience was settled in matters of religion, she had resolved not to compel others but by the preaching of the Word. Within one week from that day, she prohibited all preaching throughout the realm, without special license. "It was easy to foresee," says Hume, "that none but Catholics would be favored with this privilege." The men of Suffolk took the alarm; and presuming upon their services, sent a deputation to represent their grievances; but the queen rebuked their insolence; and one of them venturing to speak of her promise, he was "put in the pillory for three days together and deprived of his ears." In three days more, the popish bishops, Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstal and others, were reinstated in their sees. Hooper, Coverdale, Taylor, and Rogers, were taken into custody. Within a fortnight more, Cranmer and Latimer were sent to the Tower. The storm gathered thick and fast: many hundreds of the clergy and principal men fled beyond sea: among whom were Sampson, Sandys, Reynolds, Knox the reformer of Scotland, Fox the martyrologist, and Grindal and Jewell, afterwards archbishops.

The popish priests began to celebrate mass in the churches where they had control. The Protestant ministers and churches began to be openly insulted and hindered in their worship. A Judge *Hales*, who ventured to govern his conduct by the unrepealed laws of the realm, rather than according to what he might have conjectured to be the pleasure of the queen, was fined a ruinous sum, and by rough treatment driven to distraction and suicide.

Two months had not quite elapsed when the queen was crowned by Gardiner, attended by ten bishops, all in their mitres, copes and crosiers, though contrary to law. Ten days after, the parliament was opened by a Mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, celebrated by both houses, with all the ancient ceremonies, though forbidden by law.

The service book of King Edward was abolished. All his laws for the reforming of public worship were repealed. In little more than four months from the queen's accession, the old

* *Fox's Book of Martyrs* is among these cheap publications, in which authentic accounts are found in full detail. "*The Days of Queen Mary*," prepared by the London Tract Society, has recently been re-published in cheap form in this country.

Romish service in Latin was by law resumed throughout the realm. Severe laws were made against all who should treat the Mass with irreverence; and it was made felony for more than twelve persons to assemble together with an intent to alter the religion established by law. The Convocation met with Bonner in the chair; and all who had a right to sit, save six, subscribed the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The queen now issued her orders, directing all the ceremonies, holidays, and feasts of King Henry's time to be revoked. Those clergymen who had been ordained by the late service book, were to be re-ordained; and all people compelled to come to church. "The Mass," says Neale, "was set up in all places; and the old popish ceremonies revived. The carvers and makers of statues had a quick trade for roods and other images that were to be set up in the churches. The most eminent preachers were already under confinement, and about three thousand more were in this visitation deprived."

Cardinal Pole was by this time come from Rome as Legate of the Pope, with power to receive the kingdom once more into the bosom of the Catholic Church. The parliament drew up a supplication to Mary and her husband, Philip of Spain, to intercede with the legate of his holiness that England might be graciously pardoned the damnable offence of departing from Rome. This intercession the legate kindly admitted; and sitting covered, with the lords and commons kneeling before him, he mercifully granted a full absolution; only enjoining as a penance that they should repeal all laws passed against Romanism. This being done, all proceeded to the chancel, and with great joy sung praise to God for such singular mercy. One man in parliament, and only one, refused to kneel before this deputy of a foreign priest; and that man was Sir *Ralph Bagnel*; a name, for this alone, worthy of lasting honor.

The kingdom being now restored to the Papacy, the next thing to be done was to take care of the Reformers. It has been the uniform custom of Rome, wherever she has had the power,—whenever a Reformation has broken out within her pale, to overwhelm the rising movement in blood. "Drunken with the blood of the saints," has been her true description from age to age. The Inquisitions of Spain;—those dungeons of secrecy and torture, the sighing and tears and blood of whose victims will never be fully revealed till the Day of Judgment;—the Crusades against the Christians of Piedmont;—the dragooning of the Huguenots and the massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day in France;—these things have marked her character in all countries and all ages. It is her boast to be infallible—never to err and never to change. One of

her *modern* catechisms (I quote from the "Days of Queen Mary," by the London Tract Society) uses the following language: "It is not to be denied that heretics and schismatics, because they have revolted from the Church (for they no more belong to it than deserters do to the army which they have abandoned), it is not however to be denied that they are *in the power of the Church* as persons who *may be* PUNISHED, and *doomed by* ANATHEMA TO DAMNATION." Pope Pius VII., in A. D. 1805, writing his nuncio in Vienna, says: "We have fallen on times so calamitous and humiliating to the spouse of Jesus Christ, that it is not possible for her to practise, nor expedient for her to recall so holy maxims; and she is *FORCED to interrupt the course of her* JUST SEVERITIES against the enemies of the faith."

Rome now had the power once more in her own hands; and England was at her mercy. The old sanguinary laws against dissenters from her faith and worship were restored in all their severity. Henry VIII., though a bloody monster, who never hesitated to burn such as he judged to be heretics,—had yet made a merciful alteration in the laws. No person was any longer to be seized and imprisoned, or doomed to death, at the mere pleasure of an ecclesiastic. The civil power was required to concur. The accused was to be condemned only by a course of law, and upon the verdict of a jury. The ecclesiastical authorities were now once more empowered to seize any person, and confine him, without trial, at their pleasure, in prisons wholly under their own control. Such prisons the Bishops had, and they used them without mercy. When the prisoner was brought forth, it was not to stand before the tribunals of law, but before mere arbitrary prelates, whose law was their caprice. He was not allowed the privileges granted to the most atrocious criminal. "There was no jury to decide; no judge humanely examining the evidence brought forward by the accuser; no counsel to advise, or to make such inquiries as the case suggested; no friends whose presence might show the poor prisoner that there were some to sympathize in his fate. There was no open examination of witnesses; nor was the prisoner allowed to call for persons whose testimony might disprove the accusation against him." I have taken these last sentences from "the Days of Queen Mary," by the London Tract Society; and a better general description of these scenes cannot be given, than that given by the same tract in the following words: "After enduring an arbitrary imprisonment, generally in a loathsome dungeon, loaded with fetters, debarred from the necessities of life,—view the prisoner, enfeebled with long confinement, brought before the cruel and iniquitous Bonner,—or some one of like spirit,—whenever his

judge was pleased to summon him, and commonly without any previous notice.”—“View him received with taunts and revilings, commanded to hear accusations brought forward by some secret enemy; not permitted to disprove any calumnies with which he might be charged, but required to ‘*turn or burn.*’”—“The judge might perhaps remand him for a short interval, or even try to work upon him by false professions of kindness; but when these efforts proved fruitless, his end was certain. He was condemned, and sent to the stake, probably within a few hours, ‘there to be burned alive, often with protracted sufferings, subjected to insults and violence from ignorant, bigoted individuals, who were taught to believe that such proceedings were acceptable to a just and holy God.’”—“The martyr suffered not in his own person only.”—“When called upon to give the short and important answer, which would seal his fate, he knew that every member of his family would have to share the bitter cup of persecution. Already the beloved of his soul were pining at home, supported only by the scanty remnants of the earnings of his former industry, or dependent on the charity of others, about to be cast helpless upon the world, doomed to bear the disgrace which would be attached to his name by a cruel and hard-hearted generation.”

General statements, however, never strike the mind like the detailed history of individuals. No one’s imagination will fill up the outline given in this meagre general description. To obtain a just conception of these cruelties, one must read the simple narratives of the martyrologists. He must see the inhuman Bonner, tearing the hair, and lacerating the faces of the victims, who have been dragged from a long and dreary confinement in the prison which has received the name of Bonner’s coal-house. He must see that bloodthirsty bishop holding the hand of the humble Tompkins in the flame of a lamp, till the sinews shrink and the blood spurts forth into the faces of those who stand by. He must read the details of Rogers’ imprisonment; and see him led to the stake forbidden even to say farewell to his wife and numerous family of children, who have come out, if possible, to take their last view of him on his way to execution. He must see *Hooper*, with green faggots piled around him, in a lowering morning, while the high wind blows the scanty flame away from his body; and the fire, for a long time, reaches only his extremities, and when this nearly dies away, we must see him with his hand wiping the sweat of agony from his face, and mildly but earnestly entreating that more fire may be kindled;—and then continuing praying, till the operators see him “black in the mouth,” and his tongue so swollen that he cannot speak; yet his lips moving till they shrink from the gums; and he

smiting his breast, till one of his arms falls off in the fire; and then continuing knocking with the other, while "the fat, and water and blood, drop out at his finger ends;" we must stand by him till the fire has been replenished the third time; and that hand at last cleaves fast to the hot iron upon his breast;—and he falls over his chain, and expires.

From witnessing such burnings as these, he who would become acquainted with the sorrows of the martyrs, must go to the Lollards' tower, and elsewhere, to see the prisoners. He must see them with their feet or hands in the stocks; or fastened in some torturing posture, pining away the weeks and months in famine, cold, and darkness. As these prisoners are dragged to the stake, he must see little children following a beloved father, and begging with cries of distraction that they may be burned with him. But I will not—I cannot dwell further upon these horrid details.

Let us pass to the things in Queen Mary's reign, which more appropriately relate to the rise and progress of the Puritans.

It is not to be supposed that the multitudes of pious and enlightened people in the land, could, in these times of distress and terror, rest satisfied with the idolatrous rites of Popery. Kindred spirits would meet together, to pour their sorrows into each other's bosoms, and to pour out their complaints unto God. There were accordingly many secret congregations assembling in private houses, in the fields, or on board ships, or wherever they might find a place sufficiently concealed. Here we begin to observe how uniformly Christian people, when they are cut loose from human forms and restraints, and left to adopt for themselves such organization and order as simple piety finds in the light of nature and of God's Word, resort to the simple worship and discipline of Puritanism. Such were the principles laid down by Wickliffe. Such, of necessity, was the worship of the Lollards. Such must have been the worship and discipline of those congregations who are mentioned as meeting secretly for worship during the reigns of the Henrys, the Seventh and Eighth; which congregations were, in all probability, but the descendants and the successors of the early followers of Wickliffe. Such was the case with the pious men and women who gathered secretly for the enjoyment of the worship and ordinances of pure religion, in the days of the Bloody Mary. "There were several congregations," says Neale, "up and down the country, which met together in the night, and in secret places, to cover themselves from the notice of their persecutors. Great numbers in Suffolk and Essex constantly frequented the private assemblies of the Gospellers, and came not at all to the public service; but the most considerable congregation was in and

about London. It was formed soon after Queen Mary's accession, and consisted of above two hundred members."

A seizure was made of *Mr. Rough*, who had been "*elected*" minister of this Church, and of *Cuthbert Sympson*, their *deacon*, who kept a book containing the names and accounts of the congregation. This, then, was a *Congregational Church*, with its *minister* and *deacon*, "*elected*" by the people. The Church of England knows no such popular election; it has no permanent unpreaching *deacon*, the officer of a particular Church. In spite of their familiarity with the prelatical organizations, these pious people who met to worship God at the hazard of their lives, were no sooner left to themselves, to the Bible and to nature, than the path was open and plain. They were led at once to the simple worship, discipline and organization, so manifestly used in apostolic times; and afterwards so faithfully copied by our Pilgrim Fathers.

To test a principle, I would fain ask those who talk so much about *Apostolic succession*, and the *sin of schism*, while they maintain the Church of Rome a true Church, and her Priests and Bishops to be ministers of the true Apostolic succession;—I would fain ask these, Of what sin were these pious men and women guilty, when they met in secret places to worship God, in the reign of the Bloody Mary? Lay your hand upon your heart and tell me which was the *true Church*, and with which was a true disciple of Christ to meet and worship; with which should he join in breaking the bread of the communion of the body of our Lord?—With those devout people who met in secret, or with those who hunted them for their lives? Tell me, where does your soul go? Where does the Word of God bid you go? With Christ's truth and people, or with a wicked murderous *succession*, who have abandoned Christ's truth, and are persecuting his people to death? Suppose those times of darkness had continued for some centuries,—as they did continue over the Christian valleys of Piedmont,—might these Christians never meet to worship God or to enjoy his ordinances? Are they still bound to that "*Succession*, of atheistical, heathenish, bloody monsters wearing mitres, whose constant work it is to torture and destroy the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ? Are they still helplessly dependent—from generation to generation—upon those debauchees, infidels, and murderers, for the bread of life? Tell me,—When the Succession abandons Christ and his truth, which shall we follow; Christ and his truth; or a lying and heathenish succession? If there be schism at such a time, who is the true schismatic, the simple Christian who cleaves to Christ and his truth, or the mitred prelate who departs from both? Whatever be the doctrine of Prelatists on

this point, the doctrine of the Word of God is too plain to be misapprehended; "Though WE, OR AN ANGEL FROM HEAVEN, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." If we must follow God's TRUTH rather than an APOSTLE OR AN ANGEL FROM HEAVEN; how much more must we abide by the *truth*, rather than by a persecuting murderous *teacher of falsehood*, even though he should wear a mitre, and claim to be official successor of the Apostles?

These pious brethren continued to assemble wherever they could hope to escape the bishop's spies; till at length a false brother, who perhaps had joined them for the purpose of treachery, betrayed them. The minister, the deacon and many others were seized. Sympson was put upon the rack three times in one day, because he would neither discover the register of the Church, nor the names of its members. He was sent to Bonner. "You see," said Bonner to the spectators, "what a personable man this is; and for his patience, if he was not a heretic, I should much commend him; for he has been three times racked in one day, and in my house has endured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience moved." *Sympson, Rough*, and others of the congregation ended their lives in the flames.

The exiles at *Frankfort* also organized themselves into a Congregational Church, electing their ministers and deacons. Deliberately considering the order of worship to be used, they laid aside the litany, the surplice, the responses, and many things in the communion service. The order of their worship was first a prayer, then a psalm, a prayer, a sermon, a prayer, at the close of which was joined the Lord's prayer, a rehearsal of the articles of belief, a psalm, and last the benediction. "Other exiles set up another Church of like descriptions at Embden in East Friesland; others did the same at Wesel in Westphalia." [*Prince, N. England Chronology.*]

The exiles were not, however, in all places of the same mind. The Church at Frankfort sending to certain divines at Strasburg to come to their aid and ministry, these refused except on condition that the Church should restore the Liturgy. The Church at Frankfort refused, saying that the Liturgy had been altered in King Edward's time as far as circumstances would permit, and that "If God had not in these wicked days hindered it by his Providence, they would have altered more;—and in our case," said they, "we doubt not but they would have done as we do." The Strasburg divines urging a compliance, the Church gave their decided answer in the negative. This answer was signed in behalf of the Church, by *John Knox*, the famous Reformer of Scotland, by *Fox* the martyrologist, and by several more.

In this juncture, willing to receive light, and wishing to follow the path of duty, the Church resolved to ask advice of *Calvin*,

who was at that day in the highest repute in England and throughout all countries where the Reformation had extended. Calvin having carefully examined the Prayer-Book, gave it as his opinion, that "There were many endurable weaknesses in it; which, because at first they could not be amended, were to be suffered. But it behooved grave and godly ministers of Christ to enterprise further, and set up something more filed from rust, and purer. If religion had flourished till this day in England, many of these things would have been reformed. But since the Reformation is overthrown, and a Church is to be set up in another place, where you are at liberty to establish what order is most for edification, *I cannot tell what they mean who are so fond of the leavings of popish dregs.*"

The next year brought *Dr. Cox* to Frankfort, who broke through the order established in the Church, created a great disturbance, and caused *Knox* to be accused of high treason against the emperor, on account of some expressions in a book which *Knox* had some years before published in English, in which he had said that the emperor was not less an enemy to Christ than Nero. The magistrates, fearful of difficulty with the emperor, desired *Knox* to leave the city. The party of *Cox*, now strengthened by accessions from abroad, set up the Liturgy, and organized the church anew. Most of the old congregation left the city. It is remarkable that the new church, made up of men so strenuous for the Liturgy, gave the very first exhibition of a conflict between the clergy and the people, as to where lies the power of ultimate appeal; whether in the clergy or in the brethren of the church. The rector summoned one of the members to appear at the vestry before the officers of the church. The member appealed to the body of the church, who ordered the cause to be brought before them. The rector and officers chose rather to resign than to admit these rights of the church. The church maintained their ground, and formally determined that "In all controversies among themselves, and especially in cases of appeal, the last resort should be in the church."

Such was the strange issue of the contentions at Frankfort. Those who had strenuously opposed the Liturgy, went and submitted themselves to the *Presbyterian* discipline at Geneva. Those who had been ready to turn everything upside down for a Liturgy, remained and asserted the strongest principle of *Congregationalism*. So gradually dawned the light. So surely does abuse of power teach the injured their rights. Discussion—and even dissension—is made to lead to the discovery of truth. Old principles, though established in ancient precedents and ratified by law, are sifted. What can be shaken is laid aside. Truth is eternal; its opposers are mortal. Contests may await it; times of declension may leave it for a season depressed and ob-

scured ; but in spite of all it holds on its way ; commending itself to right reason ; approving itself always simple and glorious ; the friend of freedom, of knowledge, and religion ; till at last it is established, never to be overthrown. Though angry controversy in trivial matters is always to be deprecated, I cannot be of the opinion of those who dread the issue of a temperate though earnest discussion of questions lying at the foundation of the great matters of truth and order, and of human rights. I know not to what stagnation and tyranny the world and the Church would have been given over, but for such conflicts of principle. Certain it is, that whatever evils may have resulted from such conflicts, much darkness and much corruption would have encumbered the Church without them ; much that is fairest in truth would never have been discovered, or being discovered, would have been undervalued and of little use. "There must be heresies," says an Apostle, "that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." There must be discussion—perhaps at times dissension—that what is true and useful and important may be made known. Only it should be remembered that *truth* and *duty*—not party ends nor party spirit—should govern the discussion ; for "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." Save for the conflicts of Puritanism, freedom would never have been known ; and a sort of religion scarcely in advance of Romanism would have reigned unbroken in England, if not throughout the Christian world.

But these heats of controversy between those who had for conscience sake fled from their native land, could not last for ever. These were transient fires ; the principle of love was deep seated within them, an unquenchable flame. The short reign of Mary had not passed away, before these grudges seemed nearly forgotten. In this respect the "sun" did not "go down upon their wrath." Letters of mutual esteem and love passed between the exiles of Geneva and those of Frankfort. With the accession of Elizabeth all promised to forget their former displeasure, and to strive together for a further reform. "We trust," said those who had been so strenuous for the Prayer-Book, "that true religion shall be restored, and that we shall not be burdened with unprofitable ceremonies. And if any shall be obtruded that shall be offensive at our meeting in England,—which we trust will be shortly,—we will brotherly join with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of the same." "And I find," says Prince, in his *N. England Chronology*, "that soon returning to England they were as good as their word."

Having seen Puritanism in its first endurance of suffering, we come now to view it in its activity, girding itself for its first encounters with the spirit of formalism and despotism in the long and rigid reign of Queen Elizabeth.

VI.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Reformation conducted on principles of State policy. Papists to be kept in the Church. High Commission. Things offensive to Papists stricken out of the Liturgy. Plan of keeping Papists in the Church successful. Foresight of the Puritans. Their predictions verified. Original complaints of the Puritans. Progress of their inquiries.

THE accession of Queen Elizabeth, 17th November, A.D. 1558, was regarded by all parties as the signal for a return from Popery to the Reformation. There were circumstances, however, which rendered it difficult to make the change either sudden or complete, had the queen ever so heartily desired it. The offices of the Church were filled with popish bishops and popish priests. A large share of the people were still popish. The Pope had pronounced the queen illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting the throne. In the failure of Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots was the undoubted heir, and both she and the popish sovereigns wanted only a favorable opportunity to assert her title to the throne.

Elizabeth saw the difficulties of her situation, and was too politic to risk any commotions by attempting too sudden or too wide a departure from the rituals then in use. This caution arose from a due survey of the dangers, and was deliberately made the rule of the policy to be pursued. *Maddox*, who, a hundred years ago, attempted to justify her conduct towards the Puritans, transcribes a state paper "of considerable consequence," as he says, laying down "*a plan of a Reformation*," and containing a survey of the "*dangers that were likely to follow*." The following are the dangers specified in that survey:

"1st. The Bishop of Rome will be incensed; will excommunicate the queen's highness; interdict the realm, and give it a prey to all princes that will enter upon it.

"2d. The French king and his people will be encouraged to persist more vigorously in the war against declared heretics.

"3d. Scotland will have some boldness, and by that way the French king will soonest attempt to invade us.

"4th. Ireland will be very difficult to be stayed in their obedience by reason of the clergy that are associated to Rome.

"5th. Many people of our own will be very much discontented, especially these sorts; (1) Such as governed in the late Queen Mary's reign, and were chosen thereto for no other cause, or were then esteemed for being hot and earnest in the other religion; and now remain unplaced or uncalled to credit;—these will study all the ways they can to maintain the former doings. (2) The Bishops and all the clergy will see their own ruin; and in confession and preaching, and all other ways they can, will persuade people from it. (3) Men which be of the papist sort, who late were in manner all the judges of the law, and justices of the peace,—are like to join with the bishops and clergy. (4) 'Many such as would gladly have the alterations from the Church of Rome, when they shall see, peradventure, that some old ceremonies shall still be left, or that their doctrine which they embrace is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disapproved, shall be discontented and call the altered religion a cloaked papistry, a mingle-mangle.'"

These were the *prudential reasons* avowed, for not being governed solely by the truth and purity of the Word of God in the proposed Reformation, but by considerations of *State policy*. What sort of standards for doctrine and rituals such a heartless politician as Queen Elizabeth was likely to establish under such circumstances, may be readily conjectured.

There was still another plea for conducting the Reformation rather with a regard to keeping the Papists quiet, than with regard to truth and purity of worship; which plea is thus stated by *Maddox*, and which, though I have already quoted it, is of sufficient importance here to repeat: "Besides, as the nation in general was popish, it plainly appeared an act of *great compassion* to many thousand souls, as well as *necessary* to the queen's safety, and the success of the Reformation, to *contrive*, if it were possible, *such a form of worship*, without idolatry, which *might keep the popish people in the church*."

Thus the ground of defence and justification relied upon by Bishop *Maddox* in his work against the Puritans, is the unblushing avowal that the offices of the Church of England were finally settled, not on the ground which Protestants consider purest and most scriptural, but upon the designed and avowed *policy* of "*keeping the Papists in the Church*;" by retaining just as much of the popish cast, and spirit, and forms, as was "*not idolatry*;" having due "regard to the essentials of religion;" which were still to be judged of by the politic queen!

Can there be any wonder that there should arise a *BAND OF PURITANS*, bold enough to express their discontent at being *compelled* not only to *conform* in all particulars to rituals and Liturgies established on these principles; but compelled also to *sub-*

scribe to the same, their unqualified approval as fully consonant to the Word of God? Was *all* due to policy, and nothing to conscience, to the truth, to freedom, and to God?

If the dangers which surrounded Queen Elizabeth might be pleaded to justify this policy in the beginning of her reign, these dangers had passed away before her greatest severities against the Puritans commenced; and while these dangers lasted, the Puritans chose rather to suffer in quiet, waiving their rights and enduring everything that could be endured, rather than fail in patriotism; or than to expose the Reformation to the encroachment of foreign powers. That the Puritans ever sided with the Papist against the Protestant religion, or against the Protestant government of their country, no well-informed man will ever venture to assert, till in his party zeal he has bid a long adieu to truth. When the Puritans stood at last for their rights, it was no mere resistance to a crooked state policy induced by dangers or by a stern necessity; but a resistance to *tyranny avowed on principle*, and to the *settled policy of despotism*, founded on no plea of danger, but on open denial of the rights of conscience.

Besides this *policy*, which led to the predetermined adherence to many of the forms and superstitions of Popery, Elizabeth was by *taste* and *principle* much *inclined* to those superstitions and forms. HUME has justly said, that "Elizabeth was attached to the Protestants *chiefly by her interests* and the circumstances of her birth; and seems to have entertained some propensity to the Catholic superstition, at least to the ancient ceremonies." "So far was the princess herself from being willing to despoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which remained in it," that she "was rather *inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual; and she thought the Reformation had already gone too far* in shaking off those forms and observances, which, without distracting men of more refined apprehensions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to amuse and engage the vulgar." "It was with great difficulty (says Neale, on the authority of Burnet), and not without a sort of protestation from the bishops, that she would consent to have orders given for taking away from the churches, such remnants of idolatry as the shrines, rolls of wax, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles. In her own chapel she kept still a crucifix with images of the Virgin Mary and St. John; and when Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, spoke to her against it, she threatened to deprive him of his bishopric. She would not part with her altar and lighted candles." "The gentlemen and singing children appeared" [in her chapel] "in their surplices, and priests in their copes."—"In short, the service performed in the queen's chapel, and in sundry cathedrals, was so splendid

and showy, that foreigners could not distinguish it from the Roman, except that it was performed in the English tongue." "By this means, the popish laity were deceived into conformity, and came regularly to church for more than ten years, till the Pope, being out of all hopes of an accommodation, forbade them, by excommunicating the queen, and laying the whole kingdom under an interdict." "She grew so superstitious," says Prince, "that when she was sixty years old, and her decaying nature required the use of meat, she would not eat a bit of flesh for the forty days of Lent, without a solemn license from her own archbishop Whitgift (who depended wholly on her for power to grant it),—nor would she be easy with one general license, but must have it renewed every year, for several years."

When we add to these considerations of state policy, and to this tendency of the queen to superstition, the fact that to seven Protestants in her council she chose thirteen Papists,—and that the council and queen controlled entirely the establishment of religion, we shall be able to anticipate the sort of Reformation which was likely to follow.

Such were the power, the policy, the taste, the principles, under which the rituals of the English Church were to receive that final establishment, set forth in the Prayer-Book which it is now the fashion to laud as the "*sole surviving monument of the Reformation.*"* A strict conformity to that standard was now about to be enforced by the strong hand of power, and every variation to be sought out and punished with inquisitorial severity.

The thoroughly Protestant part of the nation was not in a mood to have anything forced upon them, which, in their estimation, savored of the mummeries or the abominations of Popery. From the dungeons; from the flames that consumed the martyrs in the reign of terror now just over, they had imbibed an absolute horror of everything popish. In the gilded ornaments, pompous ceremonies, and ghostly robes of the man of sin, they had learned to discover the germs of false principles,—the latent seeds of a superstition, which, when matured into their full growth and power, and fully ripe, had turned religion itself into an engine of tyranny and murder. They had learned to hate even the garment spotted by the flesh. They could not in conscience give the sanction of their example to the use of ceremonies and utensils inseparably joined, in the common estimation, to the superstitions and abominations of Popery. In retaining the vestments, utensils, and ceremonials so thoroughly associated with Popery, they foretold that the seeds of false doctrine, of superstition, and of Popery itself, would be retained. These

* Bishop Brownell, *Charge*.

robes, utensils, and rituals were, therefore, in their view, not *indifferent*. It was not that they were self-willed; nor were they with narrow views and bigoted minds fighting against a mere surplice or ceremony;—but they had been taught by bitter experience, to resist first principles;—to take their stand where alone a stand is possible,—at the beginnings of the evil, before everything is overwhelmed and swept away by its prevailing flood.

The queen pursued the line of policy which herself with the council had deliberately marked out. For some time the public religion continued as she found it. The popish priests kept on celebrating mass. None of the Protestant clergy ejected in the last reign were restored. Orders were given against all innovations. When some began to use King Edward's service book, the queen prohibited all preaching, and the reading of any prayers save those appointed by law, till the meeting of parliament. The parliament restored to the sovereign the supremacy of the Church; gave to her the nomination of all bishops; and vested in the crown, the power, without any concurrence of Parliament or convocation, to repress all heresies, to establish or to repeal all canons; to ordain, alter, or abolish, whatever religious rite or ceremony, she in her sovereign discretion and pleasure should choose. In order to the due exercise of this power, they gave her authority to institute that arbitrary and uncontrollable *Court of High Commission*, whose atrocities we shall hereafter have so much occasion to notice.

The queen now instructed her committee of divines to revise King Edward's Liturgy. They were required to strike out all offensive passages against the Pope, and to make the people easy about the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament. As to the wishes of those who desired a purer worship, no provision was made, or intended to be made, out of regard to these. The petition, "*From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us,*" was struck out from the Litany. The Rubric declaring that by kneeling at the sacrament no adoration was intended to any corporeal presence of Christ, was struck out. The old festivals, with their eves, were continued as in the second year of King Edward VI., subject to the queen's pleasure to take them away. Whereas in the revised Liturgy of King Edward, all the garments except the surplice were laid aside, the queen now ordered that the *copes* and other gear should be restored.

The Book of Common Prayer thus prepared was by parliament established by law; and to its rituals and worship all were required, under penalties adequate to compel anything but *conscience*, to conform.

I have already noticed how, all along, the *government* (not the *Church*) established or changed the organization and worship of the Church of England. It was not the *Church*, but King *Henry VIII.* or *Edward VI.* and council, or Queen *Elizabeth* and council and parliament, that ordered all these things. In the ratifying of this service book in parliament, the Archbishop of York objected that "An act of this consequence ought to have had the consent of the clergy in Convocation, before it passed into law. Even Arian Emperors," said he, "ordered that points of faith should be examined by councils." But he was overruled.

It is now common to speak of the establishment of that Prayer-Book as the work of the *Church*: "The *Church* has ordered," "the *Church* has judged," "the *Church* has decided!" If these things had been said of Romish mass books and Romish mummeries, there might be some color of reason for pleading the authority of the *Church*. But in establishing the English Prayer-Book, the queen and parliament were the authority. The *Church*—in the capacity either of people, clergy, or Convocation—had no other hand in it, than submissively to receive whatever their masters should impose.

"The forms and ceremonies now preserved in the English Church," says Hume, "as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended further to reconcile the Catholics to the established religion: and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out everything offensive to them in the new Liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established Church." The plan of keeping the Papists in the Church was eminently successful. *Maddox* himself notices that even as late as A. D. 1561, upon a visitation of Archbishop Parker, the major part of the beneficed clergy were either *mechanics*, or *mass priests in disguise*. And to justify the imposition of uniform rites of worship and forms of prayer he adds, that "Most of the inferior beneficed clergy kept their places," and that there were only 100 parochial clergy displaced out of 9400 parochial benefices. The rest of the priesthood were such men as had conformed to the religion of the bloody Mary; and were, therefore, either Papists or hypocrites. If any of the exiled clergy would conform to the queen's establishment, they were furnished with places; if not, such as had at first been suffered to officiate were suspended; and, as the least part of their sufferings, reduced to poverty. It was not for want of evangelical and learned men, that illiterate mechanics were put into beneficed parishes, but because these men could not in conscience comply with the queen's demands. *Jewell* (afterwards Archbishop), the year

after the queen's accession, wrote lamenting the "worldly policy" with which the Reformation was conducted: "*As if the Word of God was not to be received on his own authority.*" He complained of the imposition of the popish vestments, "the relics of the Amorites," and wishes they were "exterminated to the deepest roots." *Grindal* (afterwards Archbishop) joined in these complaints; as also did *Cox*, *Horn* and *Pilkington*, afterwards bishops. Many others did the same, whose judgment and heart were for a purer worship, but who vacillated between the duty of steadfastness for truth and purity, and the policy of yielding for the present, with the hope of redress hereafter. *Knox*, *Sampson*, *Gilpin*, and the old translator of the Bible, *Miles Coverdale*, were offered bishoprics; but they could not in conscience conform to the prescribed rituals. *Whitehead* was offered the Archbishopric of Canterbury, but for the same reasons he declined. *These took their stand among the PURITANS.* *Grindal*, *Jewell*, *Cox*, *Horn*, and *Pilkington*, yielded and received bishoprics, yet "with fear and trembling," in hopes by their interest with the queen to obtain some reform in the constitution of the Church.

This was the very thing against which the Reformers on the continent had, from their own bitter experience, warned the exiles upon their return to England. *Bullinger* and *Peter Martyr*, had written earnestly to *Jewell*, *Horn*, *Grindal*, and the rest of the exiles, to "take care in the first beginnings, to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations." *Gualter*, of Zurich, in a prophetic strain, and yet only deriving his forecast from the lessons of experience, urged the Reformers, "Not to hearken to the councils of those men, who when they saw that Popery could not be honestly defended, nor entirely restrained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, uncertain, and doubtful; so that while an evangelical religion is pretended, those things should be obtruded on the Church which will make the returning back to Popery, superstition, and idolatry, easy." "We have had experience of this," said he, "for some years in Germany, and know what influence such persons may have." "I apprehend that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid the giving of small offence, many things may be suffered under this color for a little while, and yet it will scarce be possible, by all the endeavors that can be used, to get them removed, at least without great struggles."

It was thus that the far reaching view of the Puritans foresaw the result of retaining in the Church of England things which were in their origin popish, and in their nature almost inseparably united with the fundamental errors and superstitions of Po-

pery. *Jewell* and *Grindal* hoped for a further reform. The Puritans entertained no such hope. They reasoned—they stood, as though they foresaw,—and they actually did *foretell*, the insinuating spirit with which these objectionable things would not only be retained, but how, like a gangrene, they would eat out the very vitals of evangelical religion. I shall ask you to observe, as we progress, the remarkable fulfilment of these predictions. The declension from the doctrines of the Reformers to that compound of Arminianism and Popery which prevailed under the persecuting Laud, was but a part of their fulfilment. Elizabeth was not in her grave, before no dubious traces of that same compound, now known under the name of Puseyism, began largely to develop themselves in the Church of England. The same corruption swept over the Church in the days of High Churchism under Queen Anne. Again, before the rise of Wesley and Whitefield, says the "*London Christian Observer*," "*The majority of the clergy denounced the doctrine of Justification by Faith, as hostile to the interests of morality.*" "In this shape," says the same authority, "the dispute came down to the present century. *Our clergy had nearly lost sight of the true Protestant Scripture doctrine.*" "*The clergy very generally disclaimed altogether the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and exhorted men to justify themselves by good living. They, in fact, adopted the Papists' second justification, losing sight of the first.*" The immortal Wilberforce declared the prevalent errors of the clergy and Church in his day to be such, that "*The very genius and essential nature of Christianity was changed;*" and that *the great essential doctrines of Christianity, "had almost altogether vanished from view. Even in the greatest number of our sermons, scarcely any traces of them are to be found."*

The labors of Wesley and Whitefield; the publication of Wilberforce's "*Practical View of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians, contrasted with real Christianity*;" the writings of Hannah More—to say nothing of those of such men as John Newton and Thomas Scott—constituted a new era. Religion had been greatly revived in the Church of England. But while the world is beginning to hope for better things, lo! *Oxfordism*—otherwise called *Puseyism*—breaks forth once more in the bosom of the Church; and is carrying it once more, with fearful strides, back to the popish corruptions from which it seemed to have escaped. The rising leprosy crosses the Atlantic; and the friends of true religion lift up their voices against it in vain. The Bishop of New York in his charge (of 1841) extols the scheme, and says, "My brethren, *draw your studies this way.*" The Bishops of Maryland and New Jersey come out its open, strenuous, and unflinching advocates. The Bishop of Con-

necticut, in his solemn charge, adopts most of the fundamentals of that scheme; and from all his clergy, and from the whole Church over which he presides, he is not met by one single note of remonstrance or alarm! Is it prejudice or want of charity which leads people of other communions to stigmatize that Puseyistic scheme as Popery? Hear then the Bishop of Calcutta: "It is," says he, "to me a matter of surprise and shame, that in the nineteenth century, we should *really have the fundamental position of the whole system of Popery virtually re-asserted in the bosom of that very Church* which was reformed so determinately, three centuries since, from *this self-same evil*, by the doctrine and labors and martyrdom of Cranmer and his noble fellow sufferers." "What! are we to have all the fond tenets which formerly sprang from the traditions of men re-introduced?"—"Are we to have a refined *transubstantiation*; the *sacraments*, not *faith*, the chief means of salvation?" "The whole hangs together: IT CONSTITUTES ANOTHER GOSPEL. It overturns the grand peculiarity and centre tenet of all the reformed Churches."—"Rome, not the reformed Churches, are the object of veneration."—"Episcopacy is accounted, in the teeth of our Articles, to be absolutely, and under all circumstances, essential to the existence of a Church." * * * "I am full of alarm; everything is at stake. There seems something judicial in the spread of these opinions. If they should come over here, and pervade the teaching of our chaplains, the views and proceedings of our missionaries, our friendly relations with other bodies of Christians, our position among the Hindoos and Mahometans,—*ICHABOD*,—the glory is departed; may be inscribed over our Church of India. *All real advances in the conversion of the heathen will stop.*"

While many of the best men in the Episcopal Church in this country speak out boldly and decidedly, like the Bishop of Calcutta, the general policy is to hush this matter up; to persuade the people not to read, not to talk on this subject; and in the meantime the doctrine spreads. With the old Puritans, I venture to predict that IT WILL BE HUSHED UP; it will not be, it cannot be, effectually resisted under the organization and discipline and liturgy of that Church. The gangrene will spread on; appearing less and less horrible to the members of that communion, as it becomes more and more familiar;—or I have misjudged the inherent character of the High Church Episcopal claims; and drawn from history my anticipations of the future in vain.*

But what were the particular complaints of the Puritans? It

* This was written in 1843. The world has seen how amply the doings of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1845, have fulfilled this prediction.

is sufficient to mention a few of their leading objections, to show the ground and nature of the whole. I have already noticed their objections against being compelled to wear the *garments* which were so inseparably associated with Romish doctrines and superstitions with regard to the *sacerdotal* character and offices of the Priesthood. These objections need not here be repeated.

They objected against being required to make the *sign of the cross* in baptism; not only as unscriptural, but as associated, in the minds of the people, with the idea of some *mystical virtue* arising from the performance of a ceremony, through the ghostly character and power of the Priest.

They objected against the *private baptism* of infants *by women* in cases of emergency, as countenancing the idea of mystical virtue attached to the performance of the rite; and as connected with the notion that infants dying without baptism cannot be saved.

They objected against the requirement of *Godfathers and Godmothers*; as unscriptural; as taking the responsibility out of the hands of parents where God had placed it; and as a virtual denial of the *covenant* on which infant baptism is founded;—resting the baptism not on the *parents'* faith and *privilege*, and God's *covenant* promise,—but on the figment of a *faith and repentance* PROMISED *by the child*, through his irresponsible sponsors. This was to renounce God's covenant and promise, and to base the transaction on an unscriptural figment and ceremony, wholly the invention of man; and that too a corrupt and profane invention.

They objected against the *ceremony of confirmation*: (1) as unscriptural, (2) as a false pretence of communicating grace, (3) as certifying people of the favor of God, when the conditions of confirmation do not forbid that the ceremony may be,—nay, in an indiscriminate national Church, often *must* be,—a *confirming of the enemies of God* in a miserable and ruinous delusion.

They objected against the injunction requiring all to *kneel at the Lord's Supper*; (1) as being no imitation of Christ or his Apostles, who received the first Supper at a table in the ordinary table posture;—(2) as not being used even by the Primitive Church in the ages succeeding the Apostles, but as being expressly condemned; and (3) as not having been required till the bread in the Sacrament was pretended to be *transubstantiated* into the real natural body and blood of Christ; when people were enjoined to kneel—as an act of *worship* paid to the *real presence and PERSON OF CHRIST HIMSELF under the FORM OF BREAD*. And though in King Edward's time a rubric had been added, declaring that the kneeling was not now required as an

act of worship, as if to the body of Christ; yet now by Queen Elizabeth's command that explanation was stricken out, for the very purpose that the Papists might still,—in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England,—continue the idolatry of worshipping a breaden God. The Puritans objected to no decent posture, merely as a posture; but they were unwilling to give this implied sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation, or to open idolatry.

They objected against the injunction of the Liturgy, that "When in time of divine service the *name of Jesus* shall be mentioned, *due and lowly reverence* shall be done by all persons present." This the Puritans regarded as a childish and superstitious interpretation of the passage, "At the *name of Jesus* every knee shall bow;" as though a *bodily bowing*, at the literal *name*, were even a resemblance of the thing intended in Scripture; and as though it were proper to make this distinction between the mere literal *name of Jesus*, and the *other names* of the Godhead.

They objected to the *ring in marriage*; as one of the *charmed symbols* of the POPISH SACRAMENT of marriage. The custom had been to *bless* the ring; or to speak more truly, to *charm* it with a popish incantation. The popish office for *consecrating* the ring ran thus [I copy from "Challoner's Catholic Christian instructed;" a work published by authority]: The priest says, "Let us pray." Then he says, "Bless + O Lord" (here he makes the sign of the Cross), "*this ring*, which we bless + in thy name; that she that shall wear it, keeping inviolate fidelity to her spouse, may ever remain in peace, and in thy will; and always remain in mutual charity through Christ our Lord. Amen." "Then the priest *sprinkles the ring with holy water*, and the bridegroom taking it, puts the ring on the fourth finger of the left hand, saying, In the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; with this ring I thee wed," &c.

They objected against filling up the calendar with a multitude of *Saints' Days* which people were required to observe religiously, while the *Lord's Day* was required to be made a day of merriment and sports.

They objected to the *office of Baptism** in which the priest is required to say, "We yield thee humble thanks * * that it *hath pleased* thee to regenerate this infant *with thy Holy Spirit*."

They objected to the service for *visitation of the sick*, in which the priest is required, upon the patient's profession of penitence, to pronounce this ABSOLUTION; "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to *absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him*; of his great mercy forgive thee thine

* Bogue and Bennett—History of the Dissenters.

offences ; and BY HIS AUTHORITY *committed to me*, I ABSOLVE THEE FROM ALL THY SINS, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." The Puritans considered this not only the means of a cruel delusion, but a blasphemous assumption of power which belongs to God only.*

They objected against the *Burial Service*, that the clergyman was required to say over every one, save unbaptized adults, and those who die excommunicated, or who have laid violent hands on themselves, these words : " For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy to take *unto himself* the soul of our dear brother now departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground * * *in sure hope of the resurrection to eternal life*," and again, " We give thee hearty thanks that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world, beseeching that it may please thee shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect."

Against such things, among others, in the service book, the Puritans objected as popish, and as tending to bring back a scheme of faith not only corrupt, but subversive of the true gospel ; and calculated to delude and destroy the souls of men. Those who revised the Liturgy for the Episcopal Church in America appear to have considered that there were good grounds for objection in some of these instances ; for the *absolution* in the visitation of the sick is omitted ; and the burial service, instead of saying that God hath taken the soul of the deceased "*to himself*," says simply, that He hath taken it "*out of the world*," and instead of committing the body to the earth "*in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life*," the American book reads, " Looking for the GENERAL *resurrection* in the last day."

Such were the original complaints of the Puritans. But they were put down by the strong hand of power. Deprivations, fines, maiming, slitting of the nostrils, cropping of the ears, lingering death by famine, and cold, and sickness, in damp, unwholesome prisons ; these were the arguments used to enforce a uniform observance of the Liturgy and rituals imposed by law.

It was impossible that the Puritans, under these persecutions, should not at length enter into some inquiry concerning the fundamental principles of RIGHT ; and concerning the AUTHORITY OF THE PERSECUTING POWER.

They began to inquire what right the CIVIL POWER had to make laws for the *faith and order of the Church* ; and at once it flashed upon their minds, that the assumption of such authority is not only unscriptural, but a despotic usurpation, entirely destructive both of purity in religion and of all religious liberty,—the dearest and most important of all human rights. It fol-

* Bogue and Bennett—History of the Dissenters.

lowed, that whether the particular things complained of in the Liturgy were right or wrong; the imposition of a Liturgy or of ceremonials or articles of faith, by parliament, was in itself a heinous wrong—an act of despotism; and that all the laws to enforce that imposition were so many acts of outrage upon the dearest rights of man. If the prince and parliament may impose articles of faith, and forms and ceremonies of worship, then that right was as good in Queen Mary, as in King Edward or in Queen Elizabeth. Then, when the sovereigns are popish the people are bound in duty to God to be good papists. Then the people must be Lutherans in Saxony, good Greek Christians at Constantinople; and in old England, they must have no fixed faith or worship,—no, nor any conscience or principle in the matter, save meekly to change their religion with every change or caprice of the sovereign.

But if the civil authority has not that power, does it reside in the Hierarchy? The inquiry was first with regard to the rightful *power* of the bishops; and secondly, with regard to their rightful *existence*. In the first case, it was discovered that if Queen Elizabeth's bishops have authority to alter, to change, and impose Liturgies and forms, then the same power resided in Gardiner and the Bloody Bonner; and the consequences were the same as in the case of the same authority in the sovereign. The inquiry on the second point resulted in the conviction that the very office and order of prelatical bishops was unknown both to the early Church and to the Word of God. *Wickliffe* had indeed taught this before. And *John Knox*, even before he became acquainted with Calvin, had refused the offer of a bishopric from King Edward VI. on this ground.*

For this, *Beza*, who has of late been represented as favorable to the English Hierarchy, bestows on Knox the highest eulogiums.

But if the Hierarchy of Prelates has not that power, may such impositions be made by the Church? The Church! These impositions are not made by the Church, in any capacity; but by the queen and parliament. True, *they* are as much the Church as the bishops are; but what right have prelatic bishops, whose very existence is questionable,—what right have these to make such impositions? *The Church!* What is the Church? How does she make known her decisions? May she impose *Popery* in one age or country, and Protestantism in another? and are we still bound to change with her, however she may chance to change?

Here arose another great issue:—*What is the Church? What is its organization? What is the reach and the limit of its*

* Bogue and Bennett—History of the Dissenters.

power? The inquiry convinced the Puritans that such a thing as either a *Catholic authoritative unity*, or a *national* or *diocesan Church*, with power to impose articles, creeds, liturgies or ceremonies upon individual congregations of Christians, was unknown to the New Testament and to the early ages of Christianity, and a sheer *usurpation*; equally destructive of purity of faith or worship; incompatible with religious liberty, and at war with the dearest rights of man.

In addition to this, their inquiries resulted in the conclusion, that a Church gathering whole parishes—the profane—the unbelieving—the careless and the impious—indifferently, within its pale, was not only inconsistent with the ends, the character, and discipline of a Church as described in the New Testament; but necessarily destructive of those ends; and calculated to delude and deceive men to their eternal ruin.

These were the results to which they were gradually led, as longer discussion and suffering brought them more and more fully into the light. For a long time they were in doubt with regard to the alleged sinfulness of SCHISM: they dared not,—they wished not to separate. For a long time they continued to forbear and to suffer; till at length they were forced to the conviction that they could not worship God according to his requirements, and continue with a corrupt and persecuting Church. At length they saw that for congregations of Christians *to use the freedom with which Christ has endowed them; to follow Christ where others depart from him; and to worship God according to his Word*, IS NOT AND CANNOT BE SCHISMATICAL: and that if there be a *separation* or a *schism*, the *sin is on those who DEPART FROM THE TRUTH AND SIMPLICITY OF CHRIST, not on those who FOLLOW IT; and on those who OBSTRUCT AND PERSECUTE THE LIBERTY WHEREWITH CHRIST HAS MADE FREE; NOT ON THOSE WHO ENJOY IT.*

The causes which led to these investigations and results, and the persecutions which awaited those who dared to stand for purity and freedom to worship God, will be further set forth in the following chapter.

VII.

THE CONFLICT OF PRINCIPLE.

Ultimate scope of Puritanic Principles. Means employed to exterminate them. Their rapid spread : nearly prevail in Convocation. The Puritans ask only liberty of Conscience. Not a struggle for political power. Remonstrances of the Puritans. The Separation begins. Persecutions. The nation roused.

THE contest, thus basing itself upon the fundamental principles of purity and religious liberty, was likely to enlist not enthusiasts alone, whose zeal flames out hotly for a season and then expires, —but the sober, the deep thinking,—whatever men had penetration enough to perceive the mighty interests involved, and principle sufficient to forego every personal advantage, and to set themselves for the truth and for freedom, in defiance of the storm that was now preparing to rage. Such men there were ; men deeply learned in the school of Christ, and in all human wisdom : men whose talents and influence the court would have been glad to purchase by placing them upon the bench of bishops, had they known how to barter truth and freedom for so tempting a prize. They had already learned how to endure adversity for Christ. They had witnessed the devastations of Popery. They had traced its abominations to their source,—to the very beginnings and principles of the impositions to which they were now required to yield.

It was a new thing for the *people* and their humble *pastors* to talk about RIGHTS. But this new idea,—fraught with such consequences to the human race, and destined ultimately to revolutionize all the theories of government that the world had entertained,—now started up in the minds of the Puritans. Despotism and superstition were now to encounter a new enemy ;—the consciousness of RIGHTS *founded on a sense of RESPONSIBILITY to God*. The soul of *freedom* and the soul of *religion* were now to combine in rousing up the Puritans to a firmness and energy which no terrors could appal, and which no force of oppression and no violence could subdue. Here was the spring

of their lofty courage and of their patient endurance. Nothing was more certain than that the simplest forms of religious worship, and that republicanism, both in church and state, must eventually spring from these principles and this spirit.

The queen and her leading statesmen saw the ultimate scope of this contest of principle, and determined to crush the rising doctrine of popular rights. The "Judicious Hooker" saw that the controversy drew deep into great questions of doctrine and of right. "Let not any one imagine," said he, "that the bare and naked difference of a few ceremonies could either have kindled so much fire, or caused it to flame so long; but that the parties which herein have labored mightily for change, and (as they say) for reformation, had somewhat more than this mark whereat to aim." It was so indeed: the commencement of a momentous contest which will hereafter for ever mark an *era* in the history of the struggle between despotism and the rights of man.

The queen now appointed her COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION, and directed a general visitation, to remove from the churches such papal furniture as it had been determined to dispense with, and to enforce the act of uniformity. That Court of High Commission figures largely in the future history of the Puritans. Its enormities were so indescribably oppressive and cruel, that at length its very name became as odious as that of the Inquisition; and the court was at last dissolved by act of parliament, with a clause that no such jurisdiction should be received for the future in any court whatever. As we shall have occasion so often to refer to the doings of that court, it is proper here to give a brief general account of its constitution and powers. *Hume* thus describes it:—"The queen appointed forty-four Commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three Commissioners made a quorum. The jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceedings, were contrary to the plainest principles of law and natural equity." "The Commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms,—in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breaches of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the *racks*, by *torture*, by *inquisition*, by *punishment*."—"Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an OATH called *Ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be compelled to *accuse himself*, or *his most intimate friend*. The *fines* which they

levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The *imprisonment* to which they condemned any delinquents, was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all of the spiritual courts were subject, since the Reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from their control."—"The punishments which they might inflict, were according to *their* wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, *this court was a real INQUISITION*; attended with all the iniquities as well as cruelties inseparable from that tribunal." Such was the engine of persecution whose powers were so long exerted in the work of exterminating the Puritans.

The visitors of the High Commission now set about the work of removing from the churches the utensils and implements of popish idolatry. Though the parishes were filled with popish priests, the *people* were generally eager for the Reformation. "Having been provoked with the cruelties of the late times, they attended the Commissioners in great numbers, and brought into Cheapside, St. Paul's Churchyard, and Smithfield, the roods and crucifixes that were taken down; and in some places the vestments of the priests, copes, surplices, altar cloths, books, banners; and burnt them to ashes, as it were," says Neale, "to make atonement for the blood of the martyrs which had been shed there." "They broke the painted windows, rased out ancient inscriptions, and spoiled the monuments of the dead that had any ensigns of Popery on them." Though few of the popish priests left their parishes, yet such were the terms of conformity that it was not possible to find Protestants of a tolerable capacity to supply the vacancies. There were, indeed, educated, true and tried men enough, but because they could not comply with the queen's injunctions they were shut out. Many places were long left vacant; others were filled with ignorant mechanics. The Bishop of Bangor wrote that he had only two preachers in his diocese. And Bishop Parker found the major part of his beneficed clergy "either mechanics or Mass-Priests, in disguise; many churches were shut up, and in some of those that were open, not a sermon was to be heard in some counties within the compass of twenty miles." So many country towns and villages were vacant, that in some places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading a homily for many months together. In sundry parishes it was hard to find clerical persons to bury the dead. In the meantime multitudes of able and learned preachers who had proved their faith in times of persecu-

tion, were shut out of the churches because they could not conform to the habits and ceremonies without violence to their conscience. Among these was *Miles Coverdale*, one of the first translators of the Bible, a bishop under King Edward VI., and an exile (barely escaping martyrdom) under Queen Mary. When Queen Elizabeth wanted Parker to be consecrated archbishop, she could use Coverdale to serve the turn; but when this was done he might not preach the Gospel even as a parish minister. *Grindal*, who had been his fellow sufferer in distress and exile, at length ventured to give him a small living; but he was persecuted thence and soon after died in penury at the age of eighty-one. "The act of Uniformity brought down his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave." Vast crowds of people testified their affection by attending his funeral. *John Fox*, the martyrologist, whose writings gave a severer blow to Popery in England, than any other human work, was for a long time left in distressing poverty, "till at last, by the intercession of a great friend, he obtained a prebend in the church of Sarum, which, with some disturbance, he held till death."

Though the Puritan preachers were shut out of the churches, their principles had taken strong hold on, probably, the largest share of the Protestant clergy in the land.

In the year A. D. 1562, the convocation of the clergy met, with the queen's license, to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church. A petition was introduced by Bishop Sandys and others, for doing away a long list of ceremonies and other things deemed abuses or superstitions. Among other things, the cross in baptism was to be dispensed with; kneeling at the communion was not to be required; copes and surplices were to be taken away; saints' days, festivals and holy-days bearing the names of a creature, were to be abrogated; or at least, after service on such days men were to be allowed to go to their work. A motion was made embodying most of the things desired in these petitions; and after an earnest debate, the vote being taken, upon a division, a majority of *those present* approved the motion for alteration; the vote standing forty-three to thirty-five. But on counting the votes of *absentees*, given by proxy, the scale *was turned by ONE VOICE!* So near were the clergy of England to approving the chief demands of the Puritans, the first time they were allowed to express their sentiments on the subject.

It has been common for the advocates of Prelacy to ascribe the rise of Puritanism to the influence of Geneva. But to say nothing of the Puritanism of Wickliffe, or the Puritan Churches meeting in secret under the reign of the Bloody Mary, here is a singular refutation of the charge, in this vote of the English

convocation; from which all avowed Puritans were shut out. In that vote is found the name of only *one* who had been of the English Church at Geneva. Seventeen had been of the exiles of Strasburg, and of the Second Church at Frankfort, who had all strenuously contended with their brethren for the use of King Edward's Liturgy. On the other side were two deacons and two archdeacons, who had complied with the popish religion under Queen Mary, and who, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, adhered to Popery till they were compelled to abandon it or lose their places.

Many of the parochial clergy had a strong aversion to the "habits." "They wore them sometimes in obedience to the laws, but more frequently administered without them;" for which some were cited into the spiritual courts and admonished; the Bishops not as yet proceeding to the extremity of deprivation. "The laity were more averse to the habits than the clergy. As their hatred of Popery increased, so did their aversion to the garments." There was a strong party in the court against them; among whom were the Earl of *Leicester*, *Walsingham* and *Burleigh*. "The Protestant populace throughout the nation were so inflamed, that nothing but an awful subjection to authority could have kept them within bounds. Great numbers refused to frequent the places of worship where service was ministered in that dress. They would not salute such ministers in the streets, nor keep them company." "Nay," as Neale goes on to say, "if we may believe Dr. Whitgift, they spit in their faces, reviled them as they went along, and showed such like behavior because they took them for Papists in disguise, for time-servers, and half-faced Protestants, that would be content with the return of that religion whose badge they wore. There was indeed a warm spirit in the people against everything which came from that pretended Church, whose garments had been so lately dyed with the blood of their friends and relations."

The admonitions of the bishops failing to check the growing non-conformity, the queen was greatly displeased, and issued peremptory orders to the archbishops to enforce the strictest uniformity. And now the storm was coming. Many of the bishops earnestly begged that they might not be compelled to be made the instruments of oppression against those who could not in conscience conform. *Pilkington*, Bishop of Durham, urged "That compulsion ought not to be used in things of liberty:"—"that all the reformed countries had cast away the popish apparel, and yet we contend to keep it as a holy relic;" "That many ministers would rather leave their livings than comply, while the realm had a great scarcity of teachers, many places being desti-

tute of any.”* *Whittingham*, Dean of Durham, wrote, that he “Dreaded the consequences of imposing that as necessary, which at best was only indifferent;” “that many Papists enjoyed their livings and liberty, who have not sworn obedience nor do any part of their duty to their miserable flock.” “Alas,” said he, “that such compulsion should be used towards us, and such lenity towards the Papists.” *Jewell*, who was set to preach at Paul’s Cross, to reconcile the people to the garments, said, “He did not come to defend them, but to show that they might be complied with.” *Pilkington* urged again that the debate which began about the vestments, “now goes farther, and reaches hold on the very constitution of the Church;”—and to the Puritans he said, “I confess we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them; but we cannot take them away. We are under authority, and can innovate nothing without the queen.”† *Grindal*, who had some time hesitated whether he could accept a bishopric with the popish garments,—now called God to witness that it does not lie at their [the bishops] door that the habits were not taken quite away.” *Sandys* Bishop of Worcester, and *Parkhurst* Bishop of Norwich, inveighed bitterly against the habits, and declared they would not cease to cry out against them, “till they were sent to hell from whence they came.”‡ The Bishop of Rochester wrote to the Secretary Cecil, that in his opinion “the habits ought to be taken away; and that men ought to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free.” Not one of the first set of bishops after the Reformation, approved of the habits or argued for their continuance from Scripture, antiquity, or decency; but they submitted to them out of necessity, and to keep the Church in the queen’s favor.

On the other hand, the Puritan ministers said, “*We leave our brethren to stand or fall to their own master and desire the same favorable forbearance from them.* All that is pretended is, that these habits are not unlawful,—not that they are good and expedient. They were not used in the Primitive Church; they are of papal use and origin.—Why are we now turned out of our benefices, and some put in prison, only for habits?”

The superintendent ministers of Scotland wrote to the English bishops with true Scotch plainness: “If,” said they, “the surplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been the badges of idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and the open rebukers of all superstition, to do with the dress of the Romish beast? Our brethren, that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, *do neither damn yours, nor molest you that use such trifles.* If ye shall do the like by them, we doubt not but you will therein please God, and comfort the heart of many.”§

* Neale.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

How often, and how falsely, it has been alleged that the Puritans were only struggling for political pre-eminency; that it was a mere contest of will, to determine which party should impose their own peculiar forms and opinions upon the others! What a strange mode these men adopted to gain political power! To give themselves up to poverty, imprisonment, fines, banishment or death, and to continue thus to suffer from generation to generation! It was indeed true, that, seventy years afterwards, when nothing was left the nation but victory or the entire loss of freedom, the friends of liberty with one consent rallied round the Puritans, its oldest and most unconquerable defenders. Then the strife was not by the Puritans alone, but by all men who stood for their liberties. But for two entire generations, the Puritans, as such, only stood and suffered for conscience' sake alone. Long after this time, even as late as the reign of King James, a work of *Dr. Ames*, entitled "*English Puritanism*," thus declared the principles and demands of the Puritans: "All that we crave of his majesty and the state, is, that with his and their permission, it may be lawful for us to worship God according to his revealed will; that we may not be forced to the observance of any human rites and ceremonies; so long as it shall please the king and parliament to maintain the hierarchy or prelacy in this kingdom, we are content that they enjoy their state and dignity; and we will live as brethren among the ministers that acknowledge spiritual homage to the spiritual lordships, paying them all temporal duties of tithes, and joining with them in the service and worship of God so far as we may without our own particular communicating in those human traditions which we judge unlawful. Only we pray that the prelates and their ecclesiastical officers may not be our judges; but that we may stand at the bar of the civil magistrate; and that if we shall be openly vilified and slandered, it may be lawful for us, without fear of punishment, to justify ourselves to the world; and then we shall think our lives and all we have, too little to spend in the service of our king and country."*

But the queen and archbishop pressed on. There must be entire conformity, or ruin to those who opposed. It may well be left to our *American* public to judge what *right* the queen had to impose such things upon her Christian subjects; and how the bishops could be justified in allowing themselves to be made the instruments of imposing with such fearful rigors, things which, in the judgment of so many intelligent and godly people, were absolutely sinful. But no man could be a bishop in those days without yielding this submission to arbitrary power.

In obedience to the queen, the Commission now forbade all

preachers throughout the realm, the exercise of their office without a promise under the hand of each, of an absolute conformity in all things. *Archbishop Parker* cited the Puritan clergy of London to Lambeth, and threatened them. The Puritan clergy sent him "a humble supplicatory letter," protesting before God that it was a bitter grief to them to be obliged to refuse obedience. They pleaded the ancient and primitive toleration of a variety of rites and forms; they pleaded the injunction of Paul respecting things indifferent; "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not." "Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind." "All men," said they, "cannot look upon the same things as indifferent; if, therefore, these habits seem so to you, *you are not to be condemned by us*; on the other hand, if they do not appear so to us, *we ought not to be vexed by you*." * * Wherefore we most humbly pray, that a thing which is the care and pleasure of the Papists, and which you have no great value for yourselves, and which we refuse not from any contempt of authority, but from an aversion to the common enemy, *may not be our snare and crime*."* But the archbishop brought them before the court of High Commission, and told them peremptorily that they should conform to the habits, i. e. wear the square cap and no hats, in their long gowns; wear hoods in the choir, and communicate kneeling, in wafer bread, or suffer punishment. Some declining to promise this, were sent to prison. Others, who would not enter into bonds to wear the square cap, were deprived of their office and benefices.

The clergy of London were now called before the High Commission. A man clothed *cap-à-pie*, in their priestly garments, was placed before them. The bishop's chancellor said to them from the bench, "My masters and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is that ye strictly keep the unity of apparel like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown, priest-like, a tippet in the church, and a linen surplice; ye that will subscribe, write *volo* [I will]; those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo* [I will not]. Be brief; make no words: Apparitor, call over the churches; and ye ministers and masters, answer presently under penalty of contempt."

Sixty-one subscribed; thirty-seven refused and were presently suspended. *Archbishop Parker* said, "He did not doubt, that when the ministers had felt the smart of poverty and want, they would yet comply, for the wood was yet green."

The secretary of state declared he could not keep pace with the archbishop. Grindal relented. The Bishop of Durham declared he would rather lay down his office than suffer such

* Neale.

proceedings in his diocese: but the archbishop was above him, and pressed on.

The Court of High Commission now required every clergyman having the care of souls, to take an *oath*, that he would be obedient: 1. To all the queen's injunctions by letters patent; 2. To all letters from the lords of the privy council; 3. To the articles and mandates of his metropolitan; 4. To the articles and mandates of his bishop, archdeacon, chancellor, &c., &c.,—in a word "to be subject to the control of all his superiors with patience." "To gird these injunctions the closer," says Neale, "there were appointed in every parish four or eight censors, spies, or jurats," who "were under oath to take particular notice of the conformity of the clergy and of the parishioners; and to give in their presentments when required; so that it was impossible for an honest Puritan to escape the High Commissioner."

These were but the beginnings of the milder measures of the queen and the hierarchy to put down the spirit and principles of the Puritans. And yet *Maddox*, so famous for his work against the Puritans, extols the purity, the moderation, and the dear regard for liberty, exercised by "*Mother Church*." He makes it the very ground of his argument that the Puritans were treated with unmerited mildness, consideration, and forbearance: that the bishops only used their legitimate powers; and used them not only with a moderation greatly to be commended, but which should have subdued and won the Puritans into a meek and grateful submission!

The persecution went on against the non-conforming ministers, till a fourth part of the ministers were suspended;* among whom were the principal preachers, at a time when not one minister in six could compose a sermon. Many churches had to be closed for want of ministers to officiate. The secretary wrote to the archbishop to supply the churches, and release the prisoners; but "His grace," says Neale, "was inexorable, and had rather the people should have no sermon or sacraments, than have them without the surplice and cap." The archbishop replied, that when the queen put him upon what he had done, "he *told* her that these precise folks would offer their goods and their bodies to prison rather than relent; and her highness then *willed* him to imprison them." He confessed that many parishes were unserved; but said that when he had sent his chaplains to serve in some of the great parishes, they *could* not administer the sacraments, because the officers of the parish *had provided neither surplice nor wafer bread*;—that he had had many churchwardens and others before him; but that he was fully tired; for some ministers would not obey their suspensions, but preached in defiance of them."†

* Bogue and Bennett—Hist. Dissenters.

† Neale.

The secretary and archbishop wrote to *Grindal*, Bishop of London, to fill up the vacant pulpits; but he replied that it was impossible, there being no preachers; all he could do was to supply the churches by turns; which was far from stopping the murmurs of the people. Such was the state of things in London, where the mild *Grindal*, having a true concern to promote the preaching of the Word of God, would not act against the ministers further than he was compelled by superior power. In other parts of the kingdom, the queen's injunctions were rigidly executed, and the state of things was worse.

The suspended ministers having vainly endeavored to procure toleration from the queen and bishops, now (A. D. 1566) tried the novel and anti-monarchical mode of spreading their cause before the people. With the throne was power; but there was another tribunal—that of reason, of public enlightened sentiment—from whose decision, if they could not at present gain redress, they might at least find comfort. They gave to the press, “*A Declaration of the doings of those ministers of God's word and sacraments, who have refused to wear the upper apparel and ministering garments of the Pope's Church.*” They showed that neither prophets nor apostles used distinctive garments; but that the linen garment was peculiar to the sacrificing priest, whose office and work was entirely diverse from that of apostles or Christian ministers; that this distinction of garments did not obtain generally in the Christian Church till after the rise of Antichrist; that these garments had been abused to idolatry, sorcery, and all kinds of conjuration; that the popish priests can perform none of their pretended consecrations of holy water, transubstantiation, or conjurations of the devil out of possessed persons or places, without a *surplice*, an *alb*, or hallowed *stole*; that the use of these garments is an offence to weak Christians, leading them into superstition and sin; that at best they are but the commandments of men, and that they came within the rule of the apostle, “Why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, after the commandments and doctrines of men? Touch not, taste not, handle not:”—and *that even supposing the garments to be indifferent, yet they ought not to be imposed, because it was an infringement of that liberty wherewith Christ had made them free.*

The bishops answered this appeal. The Puritans rejoined. Thus was the issue laid before the bar of truth and reason, with the whole universal people for a jury. What was the consequence? Puritanism spread as if both parties had been engaged in scattering brands of fire.

The bishops left the field of argument, and resorted to authority. They procured a decree, 1, That no person should

print or publish against the queen's injunctions, set forth, or to be set forth, or against the meaning of them : 2, That no person shall sell, bind, or stitch such book ;—and by various provisions of this sort, they endeavored to silence the declaration of those principles which neither their arguments had been able to resist, nor their former persecutions to repress.

So long as the Puritan ministers were allowed to preach, they had been acknowledged to be the most conscientious, laborious, and efficient preachers in the kingdom. And many, after they were deprived, braving all dangers, travelled up and down the country, preaching wherever people could be gathered to hear. "The Puritans," said *Burleigh* [one of Queen Elizabeth's ministers of state], "are over-squeamish and nice, yet their careful catechising and diligent preaching diminish the papistical numbers." And *Bancroft*, the American historian, has justly said that "The party thus persecuted were most efficient opponents of Popery ;" and that "but for the Puritans, the old religion would have retained the affections of the multitude. If Elizabeth reformed the court, the ministers whom she persecuted reformed the commons. THAT THE ENGLISH NATION BECAME PROTESTANT, IS DUE TO THE PURITANS." "How then," he asks, "could the party be subdued ? The spirit of brave and conscientious men cannot be broken. No part is left but to tolerate or destroy."

It was now eight years since Elizabeth ascended the throne. The only prospect before the Puritans was that of a surrender of their liberties ; an entire submission to despotic power ; a giving up of the truth to a gradual relapse into the errors and superstition and bondage of a scheme of religion little better than Popery ; or to make a stand : to worship God according to their conscience, whatever consequences might ensue. They had attended the parochial churches as long as their consciences and the fury of their persecutors would allow. Multitudes had gathered round their old deprived ministers for instruction, counsel and comfort ; often had these ministers spoken to them the words of eternal life, and often had they joined in prayer to God.

At length the question arose : shall we worship God according to his Word ? shall we enjoy the ordinances enjoined by Christ ? These are our ministers ; they have been unjustly deprived by the secular power. Shall they break to us the bread of life ? or must we return and submit to what we cannot submit without violating our conscience, betraying the truth, proving traitors to freedom and to God, or must we be cut off for ever from Christian ordinances ?

Long and prayerful were these deliberations. The conclusion was, that they ought to meet to worship God, and to keep the ordinances enjoined by Christ. Their pastors were already

ordained, and had never been forsaken. THEY VENTURED TO USE THEIR FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD. The year of our Lord 1566 was the year of this memorable decision, from which so important consequences have flowed. Few of the Puritans, however, separated themselves at first. The greater part, though clear as to the right, were yet reluctant to separate, nor did they have recourse to so unwelcome an expedient, till, after many years of suffering, they were compelled to despair of ever finding liberty of conscience in the Church established and controlled by the power of the state. The queen, hearing that some ventured to worship God in private, gave strict orders to the High Commission to keep the people to the parish churches. On the 19th of June, 1567, a congregation of separate worshippers was detected by the sheriff at Plumber's Hall; a large number were taken into custody, and sent to prison, where they were kept in confinement more than a year; when twenty-four men and seven women were discharged with an admonition to conduct better for the future. The strictest watch was kept up by the spies of the High Commission. The cruel persecutions of the Protestants in France, and the massacres perpetrated by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, drove multitudes from these countries for refuge to England. The queen granted to these the liberty of their own modes of worship; but not the least toleration was granted to her own subjects. The prisons were soon filled with the persecuted Puritans.

In the year 1568 a league was formed by the Catholic powers of Europe, by which all Protestant princes were to be put down and the Protestant religion exterminated. Many of the Papists in England rose to arms. The Pope, for their encouragement, denounced the queen as a usurper and heretic; absolved all her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and anathematized all who should defend her. But papal bulls had lost their power in England. The Romish rebellion melted away upon the very rumor of the approach of the queen's army; and the assistance, in men and money, which she with consummate statesmanship furnished, at the right time, to the Protestants of France and Holland, defeated all the designs and preparations of the Romish league. These disturbances called forth the enactment of new laws, and the imposition of new oaths, aimed principally against the adherents of the Pope. But though no part of the queen's subjects were so thoroughly imbued with an utter abhorrence of the popish claims and principles; and though in the late disturbances none had been more loyal and faithful than the Puritans, the "edge of the laws that were made against Popish recusants was turned against the Protestant Non-conformists."*

* Neale.

This unrighteous severity, instead of bringing these non-conformists into the churches, like all other methods of severity, drove them farther from it. "Many of the people were put in prison because they would not provide godfathers and godmothers for baptizing their children. While the Puritan ministers are deprived, the Papists comply and triumph."* "In 1569, and before, Papists were frequent in church, in court, in place; Popish priests still enjoyed the great ecclesiastical livings, without recantation or penance; yea, in simoniacal heaps, cathedral churches" were "stuffed with them; the very spies and promoters of Queen Mary's reign were cherished."† The Puritans were harassed with increasing vigor. "Many were cited into spiritual courts, and after long attendance and great charges, were suspended or deprived. The pursuivant, or messenger of the court, was paid by the mile; the fees were exorbitant, which the prisoner, innocent or otherwise, must pay before he could have his discharge." The method of proceeding was dilatory and vexatious. "Though witnesses were seldom called to support any charge, the defendant was himself put under oath to answer the interrogations of the court; and compelled to turn his own accuser. If he refused the oath, they examined him without it, and forced him to submit by every species of severity." If the prisoner was, after all, dismissed, he was nevertheless generally ruined with costs, and further bound to appear again whenever the court should require him.

The sufferings and remonstrances of the Puritans had now roused the nation. In several sessions of parliament from 1566 to 1587 efforts were made for some toleration and relief; but the queen frowned upon every such movement, and overawed the parliament. "She pretended," says Hume, "that in quality of supreme head of the Church, she was fully empowered by her prerogatives alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliament so much as to take these points into consideration." "The parliament, in her opinion, were not to canvass any matters of state; still less were they to meddle with the Church. Questions of that kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to those councils and ministers with whom she was pleased to entrust them." "What then was the office of parliament? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preservation of pheasants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the punishment of vagabonds or common beggars." "But the most acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings, was the granting of subsidies; the attain-

* Prince.

† An ancient writer quoted by Prince.

ing and punishing of the obnoxious nobility.”* “The redress of grievances was sometimes promised to the people; but seldom could have place while it was an established rule that the prerogatives of the crown must not be abridged, or so much as questioned and examined in parliament. Even those monopolies and exclusive companies, which had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increasing to the destruction of all industry;—it was criminal in a member, to propose in the most dutiful manner, a parliamentary application against any of them.”†

The Puritans, in their debates concerning the rights of conscience, had been led to investigate the principles on which these monstrous regal prerogatives were founded: and *they* were not only first and foremost in every effort for a parliamentary redress of abusive monopolies and other grievances, but they alone were the indefatigable and undaunted opponents of royal despotism. Was there a motion made in the House of Commons, touching these abuses and prerogatives which the queen guarded with such a jealous vigilance? That motion was *by a Puritan*. Was a stirring speech made in parliament exposing the royal and ecclesiastical abuses, and asserting the principles of freedom and of popular rights? That speech *was by a Puritan*. High Church principles, then as ever afterwards, were uniformly leagued with the power and the assumptions of the sovereign against religious tolerance and civil liberty. *Hume* saw, and abundantly recorded, in his history of the doings of parliament from A. D. 1571 to 1580, the connection between Puritanic principles and these movements in favor of popular rights. He states how *Strickland*, in 1571, revived one of the seven bills which “THE PURITANS” had introduced into the former parliament for a further reformation of religion. The parliament even entered upon a debate for a reformation of the Prayer-Book; but the queen, incensed at the presumption of *Strickland*, summoned him before the council, and prohibited him from thenceforth appearing in the House of Commons. Again, “A motion,” says *Hume*, “was made by *Robert Bell*, a PURITAN, against an exclusive patent granted to some merchants in Bristol.” *Bell* was summoned before the council, and “returned,” says *Hume*, “with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror; and during some time no one durst rise up to speak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and council;”—“And yet, that patent which the queen defended with so much violence,” was contrived for the profit of the courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her

* *Hume*.† *Ibid*.

industrious subjects. Again, in 1576, *Peter Wentworth*, whom Hume characterizes as "A PURITAN," and who had signalized himself in former parliaments by his free and undaunted spirit, asserted once more in a manly speech the essential principles of liberty; principles which are now so clear that we wonder how they could ever be doubted; but which were novel and startling in those days of despotic power. Wentworth was sequestered from the house; and taken into custody.

It is in connection with these illustrations of the natural affinity between Puritanism and freedom, that Hume records that sentence which has been so long and so justly celebrated, viz: "*So absolute was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved by* THE PURITANS ALONE; *and it was to this sect * * that* THE ENGLISH OWE THE WHOLE FREEDOM OF THEIR CONSTITUTION."

Thus early did the cause of purity in religious worship identify itself with the great cause of civil and religious freedom. Immense were the sacrifices with which these principles were maintained. They are a rich legacy. The time will come when—in *this* world—none need claim a nobler parentage than to be a son of the Puritans, an inheritor of their principles and their piety.

VIII.

THE PURITANS SUFFERING.

New Canons. Supplication to Parliament. Cartwright and Whitgift. Private Press. New Persecuting Act. Brown and the Brownists. Supplication of the Deprived Ministers. Whitgift's Inquisitorial Articles. Martin Mar-Prelate. Act against separate Worship. Sufferings of the Puritans. Their touching Narrative. Roger Ripon. Barrowe. Greenwood. Penry.

HAVING stated the main grounds on which the Puritans rested their complaints and their defence, and having shown the nature of the efforts to reduce them, we may now pass more rapidly over a long series of events, consisting mainly of a continued recurrence of the same sort of doings. You have only to picture to yourselves a long struggle of thirty-two years, from this period to the death of Elizabeth, in which the power of the queen, the council, and the bishops, with their chancellors and spies, was exerted, with every engine of oppression; Star Chamber, High Commission, oaths *ex officio*, harassing and expensive prosecutions, ruinous fines imposed without legal limit, imprisonments, excommunications depriving the subject of his civil rights;—imagine these engines plied with relentless severity, against all who should omit a ceremony, or scruple a habit, or say a word against the Prayer-Book, or question the authority of the Bishops; then picture to yourselves Puritanism everywhere spreading and increasing, till the prisons are full; families broken and scattered; thousands of women and children in distress, till a voluntary exile or banishment, or death fills up their miseries; imagine all this, and you have a true outline of a history which might now be filled up with ample and heart-rending details, extending through the life of a whole generation. Nor did these persecutions cease when James I. ascended the throne; but new modes of persecution and still fiercer rigors were devised by that conceited, but heartless and perfidious prince; till our fathers chose a home on the shores of a howling wilderness, rather than endure life under such tyranny in their native land.

We are now to draw a rapid outline of the history of the thirty-two remaining years of Queen Elizabeth.

Though the Commons were forbidden to meddle with religion, they still ventured to present an humble address to the queen, beseeching her, as head of the Church, for some reformation and relief. The deprived ministers at the same time petitioned the Convocation of clergy to use their interest with the queen for a redress of grievances. "If a godly minister," say they, "omit but the least ceremony for conscience' sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into prison, his goods wasted and destroyed, he is kept from his wife and children, and at last excommunicated."

Instead of redress, the Convocation framed new Canons, to increase the burden of the Puritans. All were now required to subscribe to the whole Prayer-Book, and forms of ordination; all preachers who should not subscribe, were to be excommunicated.

The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned before him the principal clergy of both provinces, who were known to be averse to this compulsory uniformity, and let them know that if they were to continue their ministry, they must subscribe and conform.

Some of the Puritan ministers drew up an application to parliament setting forth their grievances, and calling, in the spirit of men indignant under grievous and protracted wrongs, for redress. Those who presented this petition were thrown into prison. *Cartwright*, who had become famous for his courage and perseverance in defending the Puritan cause, and who had before this been driven into exile, immediately drew up what he called an "*Admonition to parliament*;" and thus commenced the long and famous controversy between *Cartwright* and the no less celebrated *Whitgift*, afterwards archbishop. *Cartwright*, on the side of the Puritans, maintained that "The Holy Scriptures are not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government; and that the Church in all ages is to be regulated by them. *Whitgift*, on the side of the established Church, maintained that the Scriptures are not a rule of Church discipline or government; that the apostolical government was adapted to the Church in its infancy and persecution; but that the government of the Church might be changed to adapt itself to the civil constitution and government in different ages and countries: and on this ground he defended the order, organization, and worship of the established Church of England." It is worthy of remark that "*The Judicious Hooker*" takes the same ground. The *Divine right* of the constitution and order of the Church of England, its advocates had not, as yet, attained the hardihood to maintain.

They rested its claims, not on the institutions of the Word of God, but on the *power of the Church* to arrange its own polity, or rather on the power of every Christian *civil government* to regulate the polity of the Church according to their will. "To reckon bishops and priests as the same office" [i. e. as to their *order*] Burnet declares, in his History of the Reformation, to have been "*the common style of the age.*"*

The queen, whether distrusting the prowess of Whitgift or otherwise, took it upon herself to answer his opponent with regal arguments. She issued her proclamation, requiring all her subjects who had any copies of Cartwright's Admonition, to bring them to their bishops, and not sell them, under pain of imprisonment. The issue of the debate was according to the custom of the times: Whitgift was in due time made an Archbishop; Cartwright was reduced to beggary and exile.

No man now might open his mouth against the "*Church*" or the Hierarchy, or plead for the Puritans, without ruin: no press in the whole kingdom might openly advocate their cause. In this emergency some persons procured a press which they worked in private, removing it from time to time to prevent discovery. The pamphlets printed at this press were scattered over the land. Who could destroy them? What law could describe them all? Who could tell from whence they came? The queen and bishops were in deep trouble; their rage was baffled; their power was vain. Archbishop Parker used every art to discover this press. He sent out emissaries; he employed spies; but all to no purpose. Whereupon he vented his grief to the Lord Treasurer: "I understand," said he, "throughout the realm how the matter is taken; the Puritans are justified, and we are adjudged to be extreme persecutors." The queen rebuked the bishops for being so slow in putting down the Puritans; but what more could the bishops do? In every shire commissioners were appointed to put in execution the penal laws against Puritans. The queen by proclamation declared her royal pleasure that they should be punished with the utmost severity. The lords of the council added their authority and efforts. The Lord Treasurer made a long speech to the Commissioners in the Star Chamber, in which, "by the queen's command, he charged them with neglect;" and said, "*The queen could not satisfy her conscience without crushing the Puritans.*"† The queen said repeatedly that "*She hated them worse than the Papists.*"‡

The work of persecution receiving this fresh impulse, went vigorously on. "The officers of the spiritual courts planted their spies in all the suspected parishes to make observation of those

* Vol. i., p. 587.

† Neale.

‡ Ibid.

who came not to church. * * The keepers [of the prisons] were charged to take notice of such as came to visit the prisoners or to bring them relief. * * Spies were set upon these, to bring them into trouble. * * The conduct of the Commissioners was high-handed and imperious; their under officers were ravenous and greedy of gain; the fees of the court were exorbitant, so that if an honest man fell into their hands, he was sure to be half ruined.”*

The clergy in some dioceses had been accustomed to meet for mutual aid in studying and expounding the Scriptures. These exercises had gone under the name of *Prophesyings*. The archbishop told the queen that those meetings were “little better than seminaries of Puritanism” (and quite likely they were so, since in them, godly men met to confer about the sense and doctrine of the Scriptures). The archbishop, moreover, declared to the queen that “The more averse the people were to popery, the more they were in danger of non-conformity” (nor shall we be inclined to doubt this also); “that these exercises [of Prophesyings, or conference meetings] tended to popularity, and made the people so inquisitive that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors as they ought.” The queen thereupon ordered these meetings to be suppressed.

But the people, as well as the ministers, seem to have been seized with this same mania for meeting and studying the Word of God. Many people in various quarters had been accustomed to meet together on the holidays, and at other times when their work was done, to read the Scriptures, and to confirm one another in Christian faith and duty. The Commissioners ordered the ministers of the parishes to suppress these meetings. The people replied that they had conformed to the orders of the Church; and that they only met together after dinner, or after supper, on holidays; and that only for the mutual instruction of themselves and their families; for the reformation of their manners; and for a further acquaintance with the Word of God. “For heretofore,” said they, “we have spent and consumed our holidays vainly; in drinking at the ale-house, and playing at cards and dice, and other vain pastimes;” and “we thought it better to bestow the time in soberly and godly reading the Scriptures, only for the purposes aforesaid, and no other.” But to do even this was regarded (and no doubt justly regarded), as tending to Puritanism; and it is worthy of remark that the Episcopal Hierarchy has not recovered from its ancient horror of *conference meetings* to this day. These meetings were suppressed.

Grindal, who succeeded Archbishop Parker, A. D. 1575, would originally have been a Puritan, had he not felt himself

compelled to yield to the necessity of the times. His desire was to cherish the godly ministers who had been deprived for non-conformity, rather than to persecute them. He ventured not only to relax these persecutions, but to remonstrate with the queen. But Queen Elizabeth was not to be gainsayed, even by the Primate of all England. By an order from the Star Chamber, she forthwith confined him to the house, and sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function for six months; nor could he ever afterwards regain her favor. The work of persecution went on.

An act of parliament was now passed, providing that "All persons *who do not come to church*, or chapel, where common prayer is said according to the act of uniformity, shall forfeit £20 a month to the queen, and shall suffer imprisonment till it is paid.* Those who should be absent for twelve months, besides their former fine, should be bound with two sufficient sureties in a bond of £200, for their future compliance. Every schoolmaster who should not come to Common Prayer was to forfeit £10 a month, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a year's imprisonment. The effect of this was to condemn non-conformists to perpetual imprisonment.

It is not surprising that these cruel enactments, and the fierce and unrelenting manner in which these laws, canons and injunctions, were enforced, should provoke some roughness of resolution and some asperity of language among the thousands who were compelled to endure such things for so many years. But these complaints were hushed with new and unheard of laws. Any who should "devise, write, print, or set forth, any book, rhyme, ballad, letter or writing, containing any false, seditious or slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen's majesty," &c.,—should suffer death and loss of goods. "Sundry Puritans," says Neale, "were put to death by virtue" of this statute.

The period to which we are now arrived, witnessed the rise of the BROWNISTS. These denied the Church of England to be a true Church, and her ministers to be rightly ordained. The discipline of the Established Church they denounced as anti-christian; and her ordinances and sacraments as invalid. Their first congregation was gathered in 1583. In some respects these people maintained some of the fundamental principles of Congregationalism;—but they differed from Congregationalists in maintaining the extreme of Independency, in making the ministerial office temporary, and the minister the mere creature of a congregation, made and liable to be made at their pleasure. They differed from all other Puritans in breaking off from the communion of the English and the continental churches; re-

* Neale.

fusing not only to partake of the Lord's Supper with these, but to mingle with them in worship and prayer.

Their leader was *Robert Brown*, who had signalized himself for some years by travelling up and down the country, inveighing with exceeding bitterness against the doctrines and discipline of the Church; and distinguished as much for being arraigned before magistrates and committed to prisons; till, as he used to boast, he had been "committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day." The congregation which he gathered was soon dispersed; and himself and adherents forced to flee the kingdom. At Middleburgh, in Zealand, he collected his Church. In 1589, he returned to England; became a good Churchman; was made Rector of a Church in the Establishment; grew dissolute and passionate; led a miserable life; and at length, for some violent misdemeanor, was carried to prison, where he died in 1630,—a poor decrepit miserable man, in the 81st year of his age.

It was long the fashion—as a means of reproach—to call those who separated from the Established Church, *Brownists*. The Puritans, and especially the *Pilgrims*, ever maintained this to be unjust; since the principles of *Brown* were peculiar to him and his immediate followers, while the principles which he held in common with the Puritans were not discovered by Brown; they were as old as Wickliffe;—indeed, as the Puritans contended, they were as old as the Primitive Church; as old as the New Testament itself.

In 1583, two ministers, *Thacker* and *Copping*, were hanged, "for spreading certain books, seditiously penned by Brown, against the Common Prayer, established by the laws of the realm." This was their only crime.

In the same year Grindal died; and the Archbishopric of Canterbury passed into the hands of that merciless High Churchman, *Whitgift*. All non-conformists were forthwith made to feel that the reins had been transferred to sterner hands. In the very first week of his official power, he issued his injunctions forbidding all preaching, catechising, and praying in any private family, where any besides the family were present; requiring a rigorous conformity, and a new subscription to articles which he therewith prescribed. Two hundred and thirty-three ministers were forthwith suspended, and forty-nine absolutely, and at once, deprived.

The deprived ministers made a supplication to the lords of the Council. "We commend," say they, "to your honors' compassion our poor families; but much more do we commend our doubtful, fearful, and distressed consciences, together with the cries of our poor people, who are hungering after the Word of life, and are now as sheep having no shepherd." They declared

their readiness to subscribe to the doctrinal articles, and to the other articles, so far as they were not repugnant to the Word of God; and that if they might be but tolerated, they would make no disturbance in the Church, nor separate from it. "We dare not," said they, "say that there is nothing in the books repugnant to the Word of God, till we are otherwise enlightened. We humbly pray that we may not be pressed to an absolute subscription, but be suffered to go on in the quiet discharge of the duties of our calling." "We protest before God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that if by any means, which is not wicked, we might continue still our labors in the Gospel, we would gladly and willingly do anything that might procure that blessing, esteeming it more than all the riches in the world."

The people of their congregations sent up their earnest petitions:—"Since our ministers have been taken from us for not subscribing to certain articles neither confirmed by the law of God nor of the land, there are none left us but such as we can prove unfit for that office, being altogether ignorant, having been popish priests, or shiftless men thrust in upon the ministry, who knew not how else to live; men of no business, serving men, and the basest of all sorts; and which is most lamentable, as they are men of no gifts, so they are of no common honesty, but rioters, dicers, drunkards, and offensive livers."*

Archbishop Whitgift was inexorable. He blamed the council for receiving these petitions. He declared he could not do his duty to the queen, if he might not proceed without interruption; and that if the council would help him, he would soon bring them to comply. "Thus," says Neale, "this great prelate, who had complied with the popish religion and kept his place in the University through all the reign of Queen Mary, was resolved to bear down all opposition, and to display his sovereign power against those whose consciences were not as flexible as his own."†

Whitgift now called for a new High Commission, "Because," said he, "a commission may search for books, and examine the writers and publishers on oath, which a bishop cannot do—because the commission can punish by fines, which are very commodious to the government; or by imprisonment, which will strike the more terror into the Puritans."‡ The commission was granted.

The archbishop drew up twenty-four articles for the use of the High Commission, by which they might compel any *man on his oath* to answer the most searching interrogatories concerning his

* Neale.

† Maddox blames Neale for saying that Whitgift had conformed to Popery; but Toulmin shows that it was even so; as indeed otherwise he could not have kept his place.

‡ Neale.

own doings and belief, as well as concerning all others whom he should know to have refused conformity in any particular. If any person refused this oath, he must suffer the punishment of contempt, by fines and imprisonment at the mercy of the court.

When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh read these articles, he wrote to the archbishop, thus : " I have read over your four-and-twenty articles, formed in a Romish style, of great length and curiosity, to examine all manner of ministers in this time, without distinction of persons, to be executed *ex officio mero* ; and I find them so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that *I think the inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and trap their priests.*" " I know your canonists can defend these, with all their particles ; but surely under correction, this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers, is not to edify or reform." " According to my simple judgment, it is too much savoring of the *Romish Inquisition*, and is a device rather to seek for offenders, than to reform any."

The archbishop and High Commission pressed on. It was alleged, that *no one ought to be held to accuse himself* ; but the admitted principle of the municipal law weighed nothing with the archbishop. It was alleged that, by law, *no man should be fined beyond his estate or ability* ; but the very policy and principle of the High Commission was, to impose ruinous fines. " For worshipping God in private houses, or in the woods, without the help of the Prayer-Book, or the adornment of the square cap, and cape, and surplice,"*—for such crimes, " many were reduced to the last extremity of want and suffering, so that the very jailors were touched with pity ; testifying that the prisoners had not wherewithal to purchase food or clothing, for lack of which numbers perished in prison." And yet Bishop Maddox contends earnestly, that they were treated with great leniency and favor by " Mother Church," and the merciful queen !

In the meantime, that secret press, of which we have spoken, was plied with diligence, and made the complaints of the Puritans ring loud throughout the kingdom. The pamphlets issued at this time were written with a coarseness and bitterness which the leading and moderate men among the Puritans disapproved ; but with such force of argument, with such clearness, and such home-thrusts at the persecuting prelates, that nothing could resist them. The bishops were stung to the quick ; the queen was enraged ; the kingdom was in a flame.

The authors of these tracts were supposed to be a club of separatists ; but who they were is to this day unknown. The most famous were those issued under the name of "*Martin Mar-Prelate*," a series of violent satires against the hierarchy and its supporters.

* Punchard.

One was entitled "THESES MARTIANÆ, i. e. certain demonstrative conclusions set down and collected by MARTIN MAR-PRELATE THE GREAT, serving as a manifest and sufficient confutation of all that the cater-caps with their whole band of clergy-priests have, or can bring, for the defence of their ambitious and anti-christian prelacy. Published by *Martin Junior*, in 1589."

Another was entitled the "PROTESTATION OF MARTIN MAR-PRELATE, wherein, notwithstanding the surprising of the printer, he maketh it known to the world, that he feareth neither proud priest, anti-christian Pope, tyrannous prelate, nor godless cater-cap, &c., &c. Printed 1589."

Another was "MARTIN MAR-PRELATE'S APPELLATION to the high court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealings of the Archbishop of Canterbury."

Another was "A DIALOGUE, wherein is plainly laid down the *tyrannical dealings of the lord bishops against God's children.*"

Another was entitled "HA' YE ANY MORE WORK FOR THE COOPER;" written against Dr. Thos. Cooper, of Winchester, and said to be printed "*In Europe, not far from some of the bouncing priests*, 1590."

Another, "EPITOME OF THE FIRST WORK OF DR. JOHN BRIDGES, *against the Puritans.*" "*Oh, read over Dr. John Bridges, for it is a worthy work*; printed over sea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a bouncing priest, at the cost and charges of *Martin Mar-Prelate, Gent.*"

Another, "THE COBLER'S BOOK, which denies the Church of England to be a true Church, and charges her with maintaining idolatry under the name of decency, in the habits of the priests, baptisms by women, gangdays, saints' eves, bishoping of children," &c., &c.

Such titles are probably a fair indication of the works they covered, which were admitted to be rough and coarse, even for that age—far more inclined to such a style of argument than the present.

But the other side made no scruple of resorting to similar weapons. On the side of the bishops appeared one work, entitled, "PAPPE WITH AN HATCHET," alias "A FIG FOR MY GODSON; or CRACK ME THIS NUT; i. e. a sound-box on the ear for THE IDIOT MARTIN to hold his peace. Written by one who dares call a dog a dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are sold at the sign of the *Crab-tree-Cudgel in Thwack-coat lane.*"

Another on the same side, was entitled, "PASQUIL'S APOLOGY; printed where I was; and where I shall be ready, with the help of God and my muse, to send you a *May game of Martinism.* Anno 1593." Another, "AN ALMOND FOR A PARROT, or an alms

for *Martin Mar-Prelate*, by CUTHBERT CURRY-KNAVE." Others of similar titles were written in the same strain.

The press from which the anti-prelatical pamphlets issued, was at length discovered. Some who had entertained it were "Deeply fined in the Star Chamber; others imprisoned, and some put to death."*

Four years afterwards, the severities against the Puritans having been continued with unabated rigor, another attempt was made in Parliament to stay these oppressive cruelties. A motion was made for inquiring into the abuses of Bishops' Courts, and of the High Commission; by which subscriptions to articles were exacted at the pleasure of the prelates. The queen sent for the Speaker and demanded the bill. She said she "did greatly admire at the presumption of Parliament, for she had already enjoined them, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor religion." She charged the Speaker, on his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them even a reading. The man who made the motion in Parliament was taken into custody, stripped of his public offices and employments, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept a prisoner some years.†

In obedience to the queen, in 1593, a law was passed entitled An Act to keep her Majesty's subjects in obedience. By this act, any person above sixteen years, who obstinately refused for the space of a month to repair to some church or chapel, or usual place of Common Prayer; or who, at any time, by writing, printing, or express words, should dissuade others from coming to church, or who should be present at any unlawful assembly or conventicle, under color of any pretence or any exercise of religion, every such person should be committed to prison without bail till he should yield, and till he should make a prescribed declaration of full conformity. If any should not yield within three months, they were to abjure the realm and go into perpetual banishment. If they should not depart from the realm within the time limited by the quarter sessions or justices of peace, or if they should afterwards return without license from the queen, they should suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Untold sufferings this act inflicted upon non-conformists in this and the following reigns. Many families were forced to flee into banishment. Some were put to death. The jails and prisons were filled. The Puritans were now greatly increased. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in Parliament, that there were not less than twenty thousand of these, divided into several congregations in Norfolk and Essex, and in the parts about London

* Neale.

† Hume.

alone. Among the ministers of these congregations, were *Smith*, *Jacob*, and *Ainsworth*, all celebrated among the Puritans, and the last noted as among the most learned men of the age.

The church meeting at Islington (the same place where the Protestant Congregation was broken up in Queen Mary's reign), was discovered by the bishop's officers. Fifty-six of its members were sent, two and two, to the jail and prisons in and about London. At their examination they confessed that they had for some years met in the fields, in summer time, at five o'clock in the morning of the Lord's day, and in the winter at private houses: that they continued all day in prayer and expounding the Scriptures; "that they dined together, and after dinner made a collection for their diet, and sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison." They administered baptism without godfathers or godmothers, and received the Lord's Supper in the same manner in which it is now received in any New England Congregational Church.

The bishops dealing with these persons with intolerable severity, they ventured to lay their case in a petition before the lords of the council. In this petition they humbly but firmly declared the grounds of their dissent, and their readiness to maintain their faith and order from the Scriptures, offering not only to conform, but to suffer any punishment, if they should fail to justify themselves from the Word of God. "But the prelates of this land," said they, "have for a long time dealt unlawfully and outrageously with us, by the great power and high authority they have gotten into their hands, and usurped above all the public courts, judges, laws, and charters of the land; persecuting, imprisoning, and detaining at their pleasure, our poor bodies, without any trial, release, or bail; some of us they have kept in close prison four or five years with miserable usage, as *Henry Barrowe* and *John Greenwood*, now in the Fleet; others they have cast into Newgate, and laden with as many irons as they can bear; others into dungeons and loathsome jails,—where it is lamentable to relate how many of these innocents have perished within these five years; aged widows, aged men, and young maidens; where so many as the infection hath spared be in woful distress, like to follow their fellows, if speedy redress be not had." They related how they had been seized, with violence and outrage, in the dead of night; their houses broken open, ransacked and plundered, and their families suffering every abuse. "We therefore humbly pray," said they, "in the name of God and our sovereign queen, that we may have the benefit of the laws, and the public charter of the land: namely, that we may be received to bail till we, by order of law, be convicted of some crime deserving of bonds. We plight unto you our

honors, our faith unto God, and our allegiance to her Majesty, that we will not commit anything unworthy of the Gospel of Christ, or to the disturbance of the common peace and good order of the land; and that we will be forthcoming at such reasonable warning as your lordships shall command. Oh let us not perish before trial and judgment, especially imploring and crying to you for the same.”*

The lords of council dared not interfere. *Mr. Smith* lay in prison twelve months before he was called before the High Commission, and then he and the apprehended members of his church were committed to different prisons, where “they were shut up in close rooms, not being allowed the liberty of the prison.” “Here,” says Neale, “they died like rotten sheep, some of the disease of the prison; some for want, and others of infectious disorders.” “These bloody men” [the High Commissioners], says Barrowe in his supplication, “will neither allow us meat, drink, fire, lodging; nor suffer any whose heart the Lord would stir up for our relief, to have any access to us: by which means seventeen or eighteen have perished in the noisome jails within these six years. Some of us had not one penny when we were sent to prison, nor anything to procure a maintenance for ourselves and families but our handy-labors and our trades: by which means not only we, but our families and children, are undone and starved.” “That which we crave for us all, is the liberty to die openly or live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, let us not be closely murdered, yea, starved to death, with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons.”

Among those who perished in prison was *Roger Rippon*, who dying in Newgate, his fellow prisoners put this inscription on his coffin: “*This is the CORPSE OF ROGER RIPPON, a servant of Christ, and her Majesty’s faithful subject; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen, which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his High Commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ, &c. * * He died A. D. 1592.*” Many copies of this inscription were dispersed among his friends, for which some were apprehended and fined.

The prisoners now appealed in an humble petition to Lord Burleigh, entreating for some examination before impartial judges. “If anything be found in us worthy of death or of bonds,” said they, “let us be made an example to all posterity; if not, we entreat for some compassion to be shown in equity, according to law.” Fifty-nine persons, from eight prisons in and about London, signed this petition. But no relief could be had. “Thus,”

* Neale.

says Neale, "these pious and conscientious persons, after a long and illegal imprisonment, were abandoned to the severity of an unrighteous law; some of them being publicly executed as felons, and others proscribed and sent into banishment."

Among those put to death, were *Mr. Barrowe*, a lawyer, and Messrs. *Greenwood* and *Penry*, ministers of the gospel. On the 6th of May, 1593, Barrowe and Greenwood were carried to Tyburn, and there hanged for the crime of non-conformity, and for having written against the bishops, the organization, and the rites of the Church of England.

Twenty-eight years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Governor Bradford wrote a supposed "*Dialogue* between some young men born in New England, and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and Old England." In this dialogue, the "ancient men" cite the following testimony concerning Barrowe and Greenwood: "First," say they, "a famous and godly preacher [Phillips] having heard Barrowe's holy speeches and preparations for death, said, 'Barrowe, my soul be with thine.'" "The same author," said the ancient men, "also reported that Queen Elizabeth asked the learned Dr. Reynolds what he thought of those two men, Mr. Barrowe and Mr. Greenwood: and he answered her Majesty, that it could not avail anything to show his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death: and being loth to speak further, her Majesty charged him upon his allegiance to speak. Whereupon he answered that he was persuaded, that, had they lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the Church of God, as have been raised up in this age. Her Majesty sighed and said no more. But after that, riding to a park by the place where they were executed, and being willing to take further information concerning them, [she] demanded of the Right Hon. Earl of Cumberland, that was present when they suffered, what end they made. He answered, A very godly end, and prayed for your Majesty and State. We may also add," say the ancient men, "that some of us have heard by credible information, that the queen demanded of the archbishop, what he thought of them in his conscience. He answered, he thought them the servants of God, but dangerous to the State. 'Alas!' said she, 'shall we put the servants of God to death?' And this was the true cause why no more of them were put to death in her days."*

But this conversation came too late to save *Penry* from death, who was executed about six weeks after Barrowe and Greenwood. In 1590 a warrant had been issued for the apprehension of *Penry* as one of the authors of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. Hume unhesitatingly ascribes the authorship to him; but *Penry* denied

* Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 422

it; and Martin himself clears Penry fully from the charge. Penry fled into Scotland, where he remained three years. Venturing at length to return home, he was seized. A manuscript was found in his possession containing the heads of an address to the queen, designed to show her majesty the state of religion in the realm, and the many abuses in the Church of England; and to beg of her the favor of being allowed to go into Wales, his native country, and preach the Gospel. For this manuscript found in his possession, though he never published it or uttered it, and though it could not be proved that he intended so to do, he was condemned to die.

Penry protested against this injustice. "The case is most lamentable," said he, "that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life with blood to a violent end: especially seeing they are most private, and so imperfect that they have no coherence at all in them." He declared that he had not so much as looked into them for 14 or 15 months. "And," said he, "I thank the Lord, I remember not that that day hath passed over my head since under her government I came to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not commended her estate unto God." "I am," said he, "a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first, since the last springing of the gospel in this latter age, that publicly labored to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains. I have often rejoiced before my God, as He knoweth, that I had the favor to be born and live under her majesty for promoting this work. And now being to end my days before I am come to the one-half of my years in the likely course of nature, I leave the success of labors unto such of my countrymen as the Lord is to raise after me." * * * * "An enemy unto any good order and policy I was never. Whatsoever I wrote in religion, the same did I simply for no other end than the bringing of God's truth to light. I never did anything in this cause (Lord, thou art witness) for contention, vain glory, or to draw disciples after me. Whatsoever I wrote or held besides the warrant of the written word, I have always warned all men to leave." * * "Far be it, that either the thought of saving an earthly life, the regard which in nature I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a poor friendless widow and four fatherless infants * * * or to any other outward thing, should enforce me, by the denial of God's truth, contrary to my conscience, to lose my own soul. * * I do from my heart forgive all that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account; praying for them as for my own soul, that although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal

comfort and unity ; where controversies shall be at an end. *

* * Subscribed with the heart and the hand which never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of Queen Elizabeth : I take it on my death, as I hope to have life after this.

“ JOHN PENRY.”

The archbishop was the first to sign his death-warrant. It was sent to the sheriff, who the very same day erected a gallows, and sent his officers to bid the condemned man to be ready, for he must die that afternoon. Thus, on the 29th of May, 1593, died John Penry, in the 34th year of his age.

It will serve to show the spirit of these martyrs, as well as to bring home to our own bosoms the sufferings of these men whose firmness bequeathed us our liberties, to give here a part of the letter which Penry wrote to his fellow sufferers just before his death.

“ To the distressed, faithful congregation of Christ in London ; and all the members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty.

“ MY BELOVED BRETHREN,

“MR. F. JOHNSON, &c., &c., with the rest of you both men and women, as if I particularly warned you all, which stand members of this poor afflicted congregation, whether at liberty or in bonds ; Jesus Christ the Great King and Prince of the kings of the earth, bless you and comfort you * * *. Beloved, let us think our lot and portion more than blessed, that now we are vouchsafed the favor not only to know and profess, but also to suffer for the sincerity of the gospel ; and let us remember that great is our reward in heaven, if we endure unto the end.

* * * I testify unto you for mine own part, as I shall answer it before Jesus Christ and his elect angels, that I never saw any truth more clear and undoubted, than this witness wherein we stand. * * * And I thank my God I am not only ready to be bound and banished, but even to die in this cause by his strength ; yea, my brethren, I greatly long, in regard of myself, to be dissolved, and to live in the blessed kingdom of heaven, with Jesus Christ, and his angels * * * with the rest of the glorious kings and prophets, and martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ, that have been from the beginning of the world ; particularly with my two brethren, Mr. Henry Barrowe and Mr. John Greenwood, who have last of all yielded their blood for this precious testimony ; confessing unto you, my brethren and sisters, that if I might live upon the earth the days of Methuselah twice told, and that in no less comfort than Peter, James and John were, in the mount, and after this life might be sure of the kingdom of heaven, that yet to gain all this, I durst not go from my former testimony.

* * * Strive for me, and with me, that the Lord our God may make me and all able to end our course with joy and patience. Strive also that he may stay his blessed hand, if it be his good pleasure, and not make any further breach in his Church, by the taking away any more of us as yet, to the discouragement of the weak, and the lifting up of the horn of our adversaries. * * * I would indeed, if it be his good pleasure, live yet with you to help you bear that grievous and hard yoke, which ye are like to sustain, either here or in a strange land. And, my good brethren, seeing banishment with loss of goods is likely to betide you all, prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty, and rejoice that any are made worthy for Christ's cause to suffer and bear all these things. And I beseech you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that none of you in this case look upon his particular estate, but regard the general state of the Church of God; that the same may go and be kept together, whithersoever it shall please God to send you. Oh the blessing will be great that shall ensue this care; whereas, if you go every man to provide for his own house, and to look for his own family first, neglecting poor Zion, the Lord will set his face against you, and scatter you from one end of heaven to the other. * * * The Lord, my brethren and sisters, hath not forgotten to be gracious unto Zion. You shall yet find days of peace and rest, if you continue faithful. This stamping and treading us under his feet, this subverting of our cause and right in judgment, is done by Him, to the end that we should search and try our ways. * * * Let not those of you that either have stocks in your hands, or some likely trades to live by, dispose of yourselves where it may be most commodious for your outward estate, and in the mean time suffer the poor ones that have no such means either to bear the whole work upon their weak shoulders, or to end their days in sorrow and mourning, for want of outward and inward comforts in the land of strangers; for the Lord will be the avenger of all such dealings * * *. Let not the poor and friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good conscience for want of your support and kindness to them, that they may go with you. And here I humbly beseech you, not in any outward regard, as I shall answer it before my God, that you would take my poor and desolate widow, and mess of fatherless and friendless orphans with you into exile, whithersoever you go; and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God made unto me and mine, will accompany them. * * * Only I beseech you, let them not continue after you in this land, where they must be forced to go again into Egypt. * * * Be *kind* and loving and tender-hearted, the one of you towards the other. Labor every way to increase love, and to show the duties of love, one of you

toward another, by visiting and comforting and relieving one the other. Be watching in prayer; especially remember those of our brethren who are especially endangered * * *. I fear me our carelessness was over great unto our God for the lives of those two so notable lights of his Church, who now rest with him; and that thus he took them away, for many respects, seeming good to his wisdom; so also, that we might learn to be more careful in prayer in all such causes. Pray, then, * * * brethren, for brother Mr. Francis Johnson and for me, * * that God may spare us unto his Church, if it be his good pleasure; or give us exceeding faithfulness; and be every way comfortable unto the sister and wife of the dead: I mean unto my beloved Mrs. Barrowe, and Mrs. Greenwood, whom I heartily salute, and desire to be much comforted in their God, who, by his blessings from above, will countervail unto them the want of so notable a brother and a husband. I would wish you earnestly to write, yea, to send if you may, to comfort the brethren in the West and North, that they faint not in these troubles; and that you also may have of their advice and they of yours, what to do in these desolate times. * * * I would wish you and them to be together if you may, whithersoever you shall be banished; and to this purpose bethink you beforehand, where to be, and be all of you assured, that he who is your God in England, will be your God in any land under the whole heaven; for the earth and the fullness thereof are his; and blessed are they that for his cause are bereaved of any part of the same. Finally, my brethren, the Eternal God bless you and yours, that I may meet you all unto my comfort in the blessed kingdom of heaven. Thus having from my heart, and with tears, performed, it may be, my last duty towards you in this life, I salute you all in the Lord, both men and women, even those whom I have not mentioned, for all your names I know not. And remember to stand fast in Jesus Christ, as you have received him unto immortality; and may he confirm and establish you unto the end for the praise of his glory. Amen. Your loving brother in the patience and sufferings of the Gospel.

“JOHN PENRY.

“24th 4th mo., April, 1593.”

This was the last work of Penry; to give a word of encouragement and comfort to his brethren who were now about to be driven into that exile from which our pilgrim fathers came, to give us, their children, our pleasant homes in this western world. Others have labored, and we have entered into their labors. How does it become the descendants of such ancestors never to throw away the principles which they prized so dear,

till at least we are satisfied that they are neither the principles of national freedom nor of the Word of God. An age of sufferings is yet before us, before we come to the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers. But upon the details of sufferings we shall dwell no more than is necessary to give the most rapid intelligible account of the history. We now take our leave of the history down to the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and shall employ the next chapter upon the great work of the "*Judicious Hooker*," a work written expressly against the Puritans by the master mind of the established Church in that age; and which was not only relied upon by the persecuting hierarchy of the succeeding reigns as an ample and triumphant justification of all their cruelties, but which has stood the great text book of those who hate the principles of the Puritans down to the present day.

IX.

“THE JUDICIOUS HOOKER.”

The design and principles of his Ecclesiastical Polity. Its controlling influence over the dynasty of the Stuarts. These principles examined His doctrine. His notion of the power of orders.

THE disputes which began about vestments and ceremonies involved deep principles concerning the rights of conscience. The reign of Elizabeth had not expired before the debate left the form of questions concerning particular grievances, and assumed a shape corresponding with the reality—not a question about surplices, caps, and ceremonies, but a deep and solemn inquiry into the ground, nature, and limits of ecclesiastical power; and the rights of conscience in congregations of Christians, and in individual men.

Accordingly, when *Richard Hooker*, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, took up his pen against the Puritans in justification of the severities practised by the queen, the bishops, and the High Commission, he spent not his strength upon the particular impositions of kneeling at the sacrament, the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, and things of that sort, but laid down the broad PRINCIPLE *that the CHURCH has authority to impose such things according to her discretion; and that the conscience of individuals and of particular congregations in such matters is not to be regarded; but that they may be rightly and piously COMPELLED to yield, by whatever PENALTIES good mother Church and the sovereign prince may find it necessary to employ for the attainment of that end.*

Richard Hooker was sufficiently “judicious” to perceive that on no principle short of this, could the rigors of the established Church be justified, or the CHURCH itself, as *established in England*, be vindicated, and that if this principle could be substantiated, the robes, ceremonies and liturgies were all right; and the fines, the imprisonments, the banishments, and the slaughters inflicted, were all proper, just, and wholesome punishments for the coercion of the wickedly rebellious.

Accordingly, the account which Hooker himself gives of his great work on Ecclesiastical Polity, is, that his design was “*To write*

a deliberate and sober Treatise on the CHURCH'S POWER, to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and BY LAW TO IMPOSE AN OBEDIENCE to them, as upon her children, and this he proposed to do in eight books of the LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY." *

This was cutting up the whole matter by the roots. Grant this principle and there is no further dispute about surplices, liturgies, and ceremonies; the Church may stand upon her *authority*. There are no rights of conscience in the case; and if any begin to prate about conscience, or hesitate to yield a due *conformity*, they may be righteously silenced, imprisoned, banished, hanged, or burnt. A most convenient doctrine, no doubt, for the prelates and the despotic queen, in her capacity of head of the Church!

This was the great *design* and *principle* of Hooker, which he maintained with consummate ability, in a work on which he employed his undivided energies for a series of years. Many of his *subordinate* principles, illustrations, and arguments, are admirable; and could they be separated from this great design, they would be most excellent. Much truth is mingled with his scheme (when was any monstrous error ever put forth, entirely dissociated from all truth, and in its own naked deformity?), but that has only served to make the lurking mischief the more deceptive and dangerous.

This great doctrine of Hooker, and the ability with which he maintained it, have made him the great champion of the Church of England, from that day to this. He became, in his day, the beloved of Archbishop Whitgift; the honored of Queen Elizabeth; and when King James came from Scotland to take possession of the English throne, almost the first thing he did, was to inquire of the Archbishop for "his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the works of Ecclesiastical Polity," and he expressed great sorrow, when he learned that Hooker died the year before. King James, when among the Presbyterians in Scotland, had often and earnestly professed himself, from entire conviction, a Presbyterian. His accession to the throne of England wrought a marvellous change in his opinions. "*No Bishop, no King,*" became now his favorite saying; and he affirmed that "*Presbytery agreed with monarchy, as well as God with devil.*" The work of Hooker was precisely to his mind. It maintained his lofty notions of Church prerogative; or rather of his own prerogative as head of the Church. It was indeed as thoroughgoing a defence of despotism as could be desired. It is no wonder that King James (as Hooker's biographer says) did never mention him but with the epithet of "*The learned,*" or "*JU-*

* Life, p. 58, vol. i., Ed. Lond., 1825.

dicious," or "Reverend," or "*Venerable Mr. Hooker.*" "Nor did his son, our late King *Charles I.*, ever mention him, but with the same reverence; enjoining *his son our own* gracious king [Charles II.] *to be studious in Mr. Hooker's book.*" The Bishop of Exeter, in his epistle dedicatory of an edition of Hooker, addressed to King Charles II., says, that the king "needs nothing more to commend the work to his majesty's acceptance, than *the commendation it had from his royal father; who, a few days before he was crowned with martyrdom, recommended to his dearest children, the study of Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, even next to the Bible.*"

It was here that these infatuated scions of an infatuated family drank in those lessons of despotism, and that contempt for the rights of conscience, which, under James I., drove away our Pilgrim Fathers; brought his son Charles I. to the block; led on Charles II. in his iniquitous attempt to force Episcopacy upon the Presbyterians of Scotland; and which lost James II. and his heirs the kingdom.

That these four successive kings of the house of Stuart might have been so infatuated as to intrench so presumptuously upon the liberties of their people, even if Hooker had never written,—is possible. But it is more probable that the principles and reasonings of Hooker ripened the principles of despotism in these kings; gave conscience and boldness to their endeavors; and were thus the remoter but actual causes of the calamities that overwhelmed the dynasty of the Stuarts. I see little cause to doubt, that if the judicious Hooker had never lived, America would not have been settled by the Pilgrims; Charles I. would not have been beheaded; Scotland would have been saved the burnings and butcheries of the Episcopal war; and James II. would not have been driven from his throne.

It seems proper, therefore, in our survey of the history of those times, to pay some particular attention to a work, otherwise so famous, and which was productive of so great results both in the religious and the political world.

The design of Hooker, then, was, as has been stated, "*To write a deliberate and sober treatise on the Church's power; to make Canons for the use of Ceremonies; and by law to impose an obedience to them as upon her children.*"

The "Canons for the use of ceremonies," which Hooker maintained the Church's power to make and impose by law, were the imposition of a Liturgy, vestments, and the cross in baptism, kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and all other forms and rituals which the Church had, from time to time, devised and ordained.

He rejects entirely the idea that the Scripture is the *sole* or

a *sufficient* guide in matters of Church order and polity; and freely admits that the things for which the Church of England was persecuting the Puritans to death, are not required in the Scriptures, and have no pattern there.

"To devise any certain form for the outward administration of public duties in the service of God or things belonging thereto," says Hooker,* "and to find out the most convenient for that use, is A POINT OF WISDOM ECCLESIASTICAL. It is not for a man, which doth know, or should know, what *Order* is, and what peaceable government requireth, to ask, "*Why should we hang our judgment on the Church's sleeve?*" and "*Why in matters of order, more than in matters of doctrine, The CHURCH HATH AUTHORITY to establish that for our order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both it may do well.*" * * * *Laws touching matters of Order are CHANGEABLE BY THE POWER OF THE CHURCH; articles concerning doctrine are not so.*" "The Church, being a body which dieth not, *hath always power*, as occasion requireth, no less *to ordain that which never was*, than *to ratify what hath been before.*"*

If this principle is correct, then the rituals of popery were all right; having been ordained by what churchmen acknowledge the true *Catholic* Church, and having never been changed by the same. On this principle, the Church of England, as well as all reformed Churches, was purely schismatic and rebellious; and the Puseyites are only following out this principle of Hooker, when they declare that they "*Hate the Reformation more and more.*"

But if by "*The Church,*" Hooker means not any *Catholic* organization, polity, or authority; but a mere *national* or *provincial* organization; or the body of Christians in any particular land, that has power in its "*Wisdom Ecclesiastical,*" to ordain or alter for that *particular land*; then the Episcopal Church in New England is purely schismatic; the Puritans, on Hooker's principle, having as clear a divine right to ordain rites and ceremonies for worship, and to fix the shape of the Ecclesiastical Polity within their domains, according to *their* "*wisdom ecclesiastical,*" as the Church of England has to do the same in England, or the pope to do the same at Rome, or the Patriarch of Constantinople within the limits of the Greek religion.

Indeed [on p. 422] Hooker himself seems to draw this conclusion. He says, "That which the Church by *her ecclesiastical authority* shall probably *think* and *define* to be TRUE OR GOOD, must, in congruity of reason, OVERRULE *all other inferior judgments whatsoever.*" * * "The bare consent of the whole Church

* Page 421.

† Vol. i., p. 220.

should of itself STOP THEIR MOUTHS, who, *living under it, dare to bark against it.*"

On this principle, the Reformation was a rebellious schism. Luther was only barking at what should have *stopped his mouth*. The Church had not only *consented*; it had *thought and defined*; and done so "*probably*," i. e. with *probable* correctness; probable, *in view of the Church itself*: for why should *infallibility* be mistaken? On this principle of Hooker, the Decrees of the Council of Trent must be regarded as "*true and good*:" a sufficient law to bind the conscience of every one, who, by birth or habitation, falls within the local domains of the Papal Church.

But Hooker thinks it a matter of common sense that the Church should necessarily have this authority. "Might we not" (he goes on to say) "think it more than wonderful, that nature should in all communities appoint a predominant judgment to sway and overrule in so many things; or that God himself should allow so much authority and power unto every poor family * * * and that the city of the living God, which is his Church, be able neither to *command*, nor yet to *forbid* anything which the meanest shall in that respect, *and for her SOLE AUTHORITY'S SAKE, be bound to obey*?" * * * "Surely the Church of God in this business, is neither of *capacity*, I trust, so *weak*, nor so unstrengthened, I know, with *authority from above*, but that her laws may EXACT OBEDIENCE, at the hand of her own children; and *enjoin gainsayers silence*, giving them roundly to understand, that, where our duty is *submission*, weak opposition betokens pride."

And by this authority to command or forbid, Hooker would seem to think it suitable for the Church to "*command to abstain from meats*," in Lent; or to forbid to eat the same on *Fridays*; if the Church, in her Wisdom Ecclesiastical, should think fit so to do. "Now," he says (p. 225), "as we live in civil society, the state of the commonwealth wherein we live, both may and doth require certain laws concerning food. * * * Yea, the self-same matter is also a subject wherein some true Ecclesiastical Laws have place, * * * our private discretion, which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here submit itself. * * * In which case, that of Zonaras concerning fasts may be remembered: 'Fastings are good, but let good things be done in good and decent manner. *He that transgresseth in his fastings the orders of the Holy Fathers, the positive laws of the Church of Christ*, must be plainly told, that good things do lose the grace of their goodness when in good sort they are not performed.' And * here men's private fancies *must give place to the higher judgment of the Church, which is in authority a mother over them.*"

And Hooker not only claims for the Church the divine right of

commanding and forbidding things not commanded or forbidden in Scripture, but he claims *a sort of inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, by which the Church is guided in making these canons. On this ground he puts the canons and traditions of the Church on a very near equality with the express injunctions of the Word of God: claiming for these traditions and canons the same authority over the consciences of men. "There is no impediment," he says (p. 304), "but that the self-same SPIRIT, *which revealeth the things that God hath set down in his law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church*, OVER AND BESIDES THEM THAT ARE IN SCRIPTURE, * * * and for that cause it is not said amiss, *touching Ecclesiastical Canons, That by INSTINCT OF THE HOLY GHOST they have been made and consecrated by the reverend acceptation of the world.*"

Here then is ecclesiastical tradition and usurpation claiming for itself equal authority with the Word of God! By what rule Hooker could reject the canons "forbidding to marry," and commanding to abstain from meat, or enjoining "auricular confession," or anything else which the Church of Rome has established, does not appear. Surely, for some dark ages, these *had been consecrated* by the "*reverend acceptation of the world*;" and as to the "instinct of the Holy Ghost" for the making of canons, why should not that reside at Rome as well as at Canterbury?—at Canterbury under the Popes, as well as at Canterbury under the Prelates?—at the Council of Trent as well as in the palace at Lambeth?

But it is time to inquire what is *the Church* to which Hooker attributes this authority? Is it each particular congregation of faithful men, acting for themselves alone? By no means; on his system such congregations have no rights in the case, save to submit to higher authority. His notion of the potential Church, is not of *a Church*, but of *the Church* holy and *catholic*. Yet even here Hooker is confused; sometimes he attributes these awful powers to the Holy Catholic Church having catholic authority, and yet an *ideal* polity; a catholic *authority* without a *catholic organization*, speaking by no authorized agents, and with no authorized tellers to declare her suffrages; for he does not allow her to speak with final authority either by councils or by popes. Sometimes he vests this divine power in such an unorganized, undefined, impalpable catholic authority, a mere figment, a nonentity; and sometimes his idea of mother Church is that of the supreme ecclesiastical power in a given territory. In neither case does he allow any share of authority to the common people, but reposes all power in the hands of the clergy alone. "Hereupon," he says (i., p. 333), "we hold that God's

CLERGY are A STATE, * * * *a state whereunto the rest of God's people must BE SUBJECT*, as touching things that appertain to their souls' health."

But what if this *clergy* in any land are ignorant or idolatrous? What if they are all sunk to the lowest abominations of popery? Must the rest of God's people continue *subject* in that case? Must we follow the blind, and antichristian, and idolatrous, because they claim to be God's clergy? Surely Hooker allows popish clergy and prelates as righteous an authority as any other. On this point he says expressly (p. 334), "It is with the clergy, if their *persons* be respected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to order of polity, *they* being *the light of the world*, others, though wiser and better, *must that way be subject to them*."

But the clergy, being a *state*, require, on Hooker's scheme, a "polity" over them. "Again, for as much as where the clergy are any great multitudes, order doth necessarily require that, by *degrees*, they be distinguished; we hold that there have ever been, and ever ought to be, in such case, at least, two *sorts* of ecclesiastical persons, the one subordinate unto the other." Hooker here shows himself really judicious in putting in a claim for no more than "two sorts." But it is wonderful that Hooker did not carry out his principle to its legitimate conclusions; why he did not make archbishops above diocesan bishops, patriarchs above these, and then crown the apex with a pope. The principle of Hooker is unfortunately different from that of the Lord Jesus Christ, with regard to what "order doth require" among his ministers. Two of the twelve disciples once desired to be above their brethren by such "degrees;" and when the ten heard it, they were filled with indignation. Then our Lord took occasion to settle the question of "*degrees*" among his ministers. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority among them, *but it shall not be so among you*."

This prelatical domination being established as the polity of Christ's Church, Hooker would leave nothing for the people and the inferior class of clergy but to obey. "Are ye able" (he says to the Puritans, p. 126), "to allege any just and sufficient cause, wherefore, *absolutely*, ye should not condescend in this controversy, to have your judgments over-ruled by some such definitive sentence?" He insists that conscience ought to give way to higher authority—the judgment of the prelates; and that this "*Sentence of judgment is sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were, as touching the matter before in question*." (p. 127.) To

sustain this sentiment he quotes the law of the Jewish priesthood. "That man which will do so presumptuously, not hearkening unto the *priest* that standeth before the Lord to minister there, nor unto the judge, *let him die.*" The scope of the principle is this: if the Pope, or a general council, or the bishop determine that we ought to kneel to the host of the Mass, and we think that so to do is a sinful idolatry, their sentence is enough for our conscience; and their authority is above all the decisions or rights of conscience; we must disobey conscience and follow the judgment of the priests. What could the most abject devotee of the papacy yield to the power of the priest beyond this?"

But Hooker maintains that the *Church*, i. e. the *clergy*, i. e. the *prelates*, or rather the *queen*, as head of the Church, has authority thus, to

"Bind the conscience in their chains."

And what is that *law* by which such impositions may be enforced? The law of the *Church*? under the simple penalty of exclusion from her pale? Alas, no! Yet even if she exclude a man from her pale, in the time of Hooker, he loses not only his privileges as a member of the Church, but all his legal and civil rights; he becomes an outlaw—helpless and defenceless. The laws which Hooker is undertaking to justify are the *civil* laws; demanding obedience to *ecclesiastical canons*, and enforcing these canons by sequestrations, fines, imprisonment, banishment, or death. If people will not come to church, or if coming they will not conform; then any penalty is suitable that is necessary to compel their obedience. Even the Court of High Commission, that arbitrary and cruel inquisition, Hooker coolly attempts to justify as a very suitable and proper instrument for maintaining the rights and prerogatives of the Church, against those whose consciences should prove refractory to her canons. "Ye have given us already to understand," he says, in his address to the Puritans, "what your opinion is in part concerning her *sacred Majesty's Court of High Commission*; the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Jews, albeit the power is not so great." * * * * "As for the orders which are established with reason and equity and the law of nature, God and man do all favor that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against, it is *but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny thereunto your willing obedience*" (p. 128).

Such is the outline of the design and fundamental principles of the famous "Ecclesiastical Polity" of the "Judicious Hooker:" a scheme of despotism, and of outrage, both upon the rights of man and the prerogatives of God. These are the principles deliberately set forth as the justification of the Church in her con-

troversy with the Puritans. This scheme of tyranny was no day-dream in the time of Hooker. From the time of the brutal Henry VIII. through the reign of the Bloody Mary, and from the accession of Elizabeth to the last of the Stuarts, these notions so hostile to liberty, and so fraught with ecclesiastical usurpation and abuse, were carried into rigorous practice. By the bishops' mandates and by decisions of the bishops' courts; by means of the High Commission and the Star Chamber, a rigorous and relentless enforcement of these principles was maintained, through fines, imprisonments, maimings, and even by the infliction of death.

To these principles the Puritans opposed the principle that GOD ALONE IS LORD OF THE CONSCIENCE: that every man has an indefeasible right to freedom in the worship of God: that what God has not enjoined to be observed as a ritual in his worship, man has no right to impose, even in things indifferent; much less where an enlightened conscience cannot yield to such impositions, without, in its own view, incurring the guilt of idolatry, or of some other heinous sin against God.

But the scheme of Hooker is not yet completed. If the Church is to claim such prerogatives over the judgment and conscience, she must in all reason have corresponding benefits to bestow. If "*God's clergy*," that "*State*" ecclesiastical whereunto "the rest of God's people must be subject," are to possess these high powers, that clergy should also be endowed with the power of conferring some peculiar benefits, for which mankind are dependent on their hands. The claim for such ghostly authority has a natural connection with a corresponding ghostly power for the bestowal of spiritual gifts.

Accordingly, we find the two claims joined in the great work of the judicious Hooker. He makes his scheme of doctrine correspondent to his polity. Having given to the clergy authority to rule the conscience by their enactments over and beyond the word of God, he attributes to them also, power to *bestow grace by sacraments*, over and beyond the sanctifying power which the gospel conveys, under the power of the Holy Spirit, when it is received by faith alone.

I am fully aware that Hooker is, by many, considered as purely and strongly evangelical; and that the evangelical party in the English Church earnestly claim him as maintaining the doctrine of justification by faith. There are indeed many passages in Hooker which, taken alone, would speak that doctrine. There are many passages of exceeding excellence and pungency. So there are in the famous Oxford Tracts, while, nevertheless, the *scheme* is substantially that of Rome. The truth is, in Hooker the "Iron mixed with miry clay." His work, in fact, consti-

tutes the *transition state* between the evangelical doctrines of the Reformers, and that system compounded of Armenianism and Popery, which attained its maturity under the auspices of Archbishop Laud; and which is now again extending over the English and American Episcopal folds, under the name of Puseyism: and hence, like the Prayer-Book, Hooker is most consistently and cogently quoted by both sides in the Puseyistic controversy. From this conflict of doctrine in Hooker, as well as from other circumstances, many have supposed that the last books of the Ecclesiastical polity were written by another hand, and falsely ascribed to Hooker. But as to the matter of fact, the evidence, as well as the common verdict, is on the other side. Indeed it should not surprise us that Hooker should be deeply imbued with what is now called the Puseyite doctrine,—it was beginning to prevail in his day, and without it, his scheme of polity would have been incoherent and monstrous. Whatever may be thought of subordinate points in his scheme of doctrine, we shall see that its determining principles and features are those of the scheme which denies the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and teaches rather justification by the sacraments and interventions of a sacerdotal priesthood.

But let Hooker set forth the fundamentals of his scheme in his own words.

"Instruction and prayer," he says (p. 561, Book V.), "are duties which serve as elements, parts, or principles" [rudiments], "to the rest that follow, in which number the *sacraments* of the Church are chief. The *Church* is to us that very mother of our new birth. * * * As many, therefore, as are apparently to our judgment born to God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the *ministry of the Church*; which useth to that end and purpose, not only the word but the *sacraments*, both having *generative force and virtue*." He continues (p. 595), "That saving grace which Christ originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by *sacraments* he severally deriveth into every member thereof. *Sacraments* serve as the *instruments of God*, to that end and purpose. * * * Where the signs and sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, *we are not to doubt but they REALLY give what they promise and what they signify*. For we take not Baptism, nor the Eucharist, for *bare resemblances*, or *memorials of things absent*, neither for *naked signs and testimonies* assuring us of *grace received before*, but (*as they are indeed and in verity*) *for MEANS EFFECTUAL, whereby God, when we take the sacraments, DELIVERETH INTO OUR HANDS THAT GRACE AVAILABLE UNTO ETERNAL LIFE*."

"For," he adds (I, p. 602), "as we are not naturally men

without birth, so neither are we *Christian* men of the eye of the Church of God but by *new* birth; nor (according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation) *new born*, but by that BAPTISM, which both *declareth* and *maketh* us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the *first apparent BEGINNING OF LIFE*; a seal perhaps to the grace of election before received, but to our *sanctification* here, A STEP THAT HATH NOT ANY BEFORE IT." In this connection, Hooker expressly opposes this doctrine to the notion of justification by *faith alone*; declaring that notion to "draw very near unto the error" of "the old Valentinian Heretics," and maintaining on the contrary that "*Baptism is necessary to take away sin*;" and demanding "how we have the fear of God in our hearts, *if care of delivering men's souls from sin* do not move us to use all means for their baptism." The implication is, that believe, repent, love God, give the whole soul to Christ, it all avails nothing for your *justification*; nor does your inward sanctification have even the beginning of life, until you have come under "the ministry of *the Church*," in baptism! Paul taught a different doctrine. Abraham was justified by faith years *before* he received circumcision as a sign and seal of that justification. Surely the sacrament could not for the first time *bestow* that which Abraham *had before*. The Publican, not the Pharisee, went down to his house justified; but was there any ritual or sacrament in the case? In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but a *new creature*. The *new creature* is then a thing entirely distinct from the *sacrament*, and baptism can by no means be considered identical with regeneration.

As to the efficacy of sacraments, Hooker does not suppose that they confer grace from any physical operation of the elements, nor yet from the mere action of the Priest (nor perhaps does the "*opus operatum*" of the Papists mean to go so far as this), but he says (p. 594), "Their chiefest force and virtue consisteth not herein" [viz. as "warrants for the security of belief," or as marks of visible "distinction to separate God's own from strangers"]—"but they are *heavenly ceremonies* which God has sanctified and ordained * * * as marks whereby to know WHEN God doth *impart the vital or saving grace of Christ* unto all that are capable thereof; and secondly as *means conditional* which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth the grace. * * * Seeing therefore *that grace is a consequent of sacraments*, a thing which *accompanieth* them as their end, a benefit which they have received from God himself * * * it may hereby be understood that sacraments are *necessary* * " &c.

The difference between this doctrine and the *opus operatum* of

Papists appears to me rather nominal than real. What is the practical difference between holding that the CEREMONY *itself confers grace*, and holding that *God himself invariably confers grace SIMULTANEOUSLY with the performance of the ceremony?* The grace in either case comes from God; in the one case *directly*, simultaneously *with* the sign, and in the other *mediately, through* the sign. In both cases the grace is alike dependent upon the will and work of the officiating priest. And so closely are the two allied in the mind of Hooker, that he even dips into the question of the priest's *intention* in the performance of the sacrament; a question so important in the popish scheme as to involve the whole efficacy and validity of the sacrament. "Furthermore," says Hooker (p. 597-8), "* * we must note, that inas-much as sacraments are actions religious and mystical, *which nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning* (and what every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine); therefore always, in these cases, the known *intent of the Church* doth generally suffice; and where the contrary is not manifest, we may presume, that *he who outwardly doeth the act, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God.*"

Let us now turn to Hooker's account of the grace conferred by the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He supposes that a person has in baptism received "that grace available unto eternal life;" but he seems also to suppose that, owing to the decays and wear and tear of the gracious principle in the rough vicissitudes of life, it needs to be recruited and aided by the virtues of another sacrament. Thus he says (vol. ii., p. 1): "*And it may be that the grace of baptism would serve unto eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after baptism.*" "Whereas," he continues, "in our infancy we are incorporated unto Christ, and *by baptism we receive the grace of His Spirit*, without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth; *in the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God* * * that his *flesh is meat* and his *blood drink*, not so surmised in *imagination*, but *TRULY*; even so truly that through faith *we perceive in the body and blood sacramentally presented*, THE VERY TASTE OF ETERNAL LIFE: *the grace of the sacrament is here AS THE FOOD WHICH WE EAT AND DRINK.*"

How is this grace bestowed? What is its nature? Do we receive anything else than the influences of the Holy Spirit in the Lord's Supper? Is there any other *Real presence* of Christ, than his presence *by his Spirit*? Certainly there is, according to Hooker. And here he teaches plainly what Pusey dares only teach covertly and circuitously. Hooker maintains (vol. i., p. 591), that *besides* the "True actual influence of grace," "the DI-

VINE SUBSTANCE of *Christ* is in all the members of Christ, is with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, AS TOUCHING HIS PERSON;" that "The participation of Christ imported, besides the PRESENCE OF CHRIST'S PERSON, a true actual influence of grace;"—that thus we participate Christ partly by imputation, * * * partly by habitual and REAL INFUSION." He moreover denies that this participation involves "any mixture of the *substance* of his *flesh* with ours."

The papists hold that the priest accomplishes the mysterious act of transubstantiation, by using the mysterious words *hoc est corpus* [this is my body]; which the priest pronounces in a low voice, as a sort of mystic incantation (from which practice come the cant words of profane jugglers, "*Hocus Pocus*"). Hooker believes in no transubstantiation of bread, but he holds to the *mystical virtue of the words*. "Furthermore," he says, "seeing that the grace which we here receive doth no way depend upon the force of that which we do presently behold, it was of necessity that WORDS of express declaration should be added unto the visible elements that the one might infallibly teach, what the other doth most assuredly bring to pass."

"How cometh it to pass," he inquires, "that so few words of so high mystery being uttered, they receive with gladness the gift of Christ, and make no show of doubt or scruple? He answers: "The bread and cup are his body and blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof, the participation of his body and blood ensueth * * * * "They" [the bread and wine] "are made such instruments as mystically, yet truly, invisibly, yet really, work our communion with the person of CHRIST."

But how do they become such causes instrumental? Hooker thus explains it: "This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is in verity and in truth unto faithful receivers instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation." * * "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood, is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament." * * "Whereupon there ensueth a kind of transubstantiation in us; a true change both of body and soul; an alteration from death to life." "The very letter of the word of Christ," says Hooker, "gives plain security that these mysteries do, as nails, fasten us unto his very cross; that by them, we draw out, as touching efficacy and force and virtue, even the blood of his gored side." * * "This bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this cup, hallowed with solemn benediction, availeth to the endless life and welfare of both soul and body; with touching it sanctifieth; it enlighteneth with belief; it truly comforteth us unto the image of Christ." "What moveth us," he adds, to argue HOW LIFE SHOULD COME BY BREAD: our duty being here to ~~take~~

what is offered, *and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, THAT CAN WE BUT EAT, WE ARE SAFE.*" [Vol. ii., p. 2.]

Such was the doctrine of the "Judicious Hooker;" and such was the doctrine prevalent in the English Church in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is not the doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles; but that it is the doctrine of the *offices* of the Church in the Prayer-Book, every one may see by a careful recurrence to those offices; and we have before seen how this confusion between the Articles and the offices arose. Thus: in the office for Baptism, the minister is directed to say, "Seeing * * that this child is now *regenerate*," &c., then follows the prayer: "We yield thee hearty thanks, Most Merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to *regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit*, and to receive him for Thine own child by *adoption*," &c. So in the Catechism before Confirmation; the child is made to answer, "My sponsors in *Baptism, wherein I was made a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.*" Many evangelical churchmen have tried to explain away these words: but to all such attempts the recent charge of the Bishop of Connecticut has given an everlasting quietus, at least in Connecticut. "I know," says the bishop, "that there are some whose views are, perhaps, tinctured with the theology I have referred to" [of Edwards, Wesley, and Whitfield] "who would willingly *explain away* the language of our baptismal office. But after all I have heard and read, I believe there is but little real difference of sentiment among churchmen on this subject." * * * "*However amicable it may be to make the doctrine more acceptable to dissenters, the effort must be unavailing.* THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF THEIR THEOLOGY STANDS DIRECTLY OPPOSITE IT." (Charge, p. 22.)

It is well. This doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is indeed "DIRECTLY OPPOSED" to the "FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES" of the evangelical denominations who agree with the theology either of Edwards, Wesley or Whitfield. Let no Jure-Divino Churchman hereafter tell us that the two systems are the same. The bishop has spoken no less truly than authoritatively, that the two systems are DIRECTLY and FUNDAMENTALLY opposed: and that all efforts to reconcile us to that doctrine "must be unavailing." We hold it as "another Gospel."

The doctrine of Hooker on the Lord's Supper is the doctrine evidently implied in the office for administering the same, in the Prayer Book. The *consecration*; the *laying on of hands* on "all the bread, and on *every vessel* in which there is any wine to be consecrated;" the going over again with the ceremony of consecrating more when the first supply is not sufficient; the *Oblation*

(the poor remains of the lifting of the Host, under the notion of offering the body of Christ as a renewed sacrifice), the remaining after the communion reverently to eat and drink what remnants are left of the consecrated meats, that nothing be carried out of the church; all these things come from the same popish origin, and are but in accordance with the same popish notions of the sacrament which Hooker maintains. I think it must be evident, that Hooker's scheme, as it was the scheme of those who gave the offices of the Church of England their final establishment, is the true exposition of those offices: and that those who have labored to "soften or explain away" the language of those offices, are entirely mistaken. Puseyism is but the legitimate revival of that scheme which was laid down more fully and unequivocally near three centuries ago, by that great Oracle of the English Church, "the Judicious Hooker."

One thing is further necessary to be noticed to complete the system of Hooker, and that is the account which he gives concerning the power of *Orders*; i. e. the ghostly power conferred upon priests by the mystery of ordination. He says (vol. ii., p. 82), "*The power of the ministry of God*" [of God's ministers] "*translateth out of darkness into glory; it raiseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himself from heaven; by blessing visible elements it maketh them invisible grace; it daily giveth the Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. O wretched blindness, if we admire not so great a power!*" * * To whom Christ hath imparted power both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural [body] which is himself, for the knitting of both in one (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christ's body); the same power in such is both termed a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible.*

* With this scheme of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and of the power conferred by Ordination, set forth by Hooker and revived by the Oxford Tractarians, Mr. Chapin (Editor of the Chronicle of the Church, at N. Haven) appears fully to agree. In his recent work entitled "*A Churchman's reasons for not joining in sectarian worship*," in which he sets forth the impropriety and sin of an Episcopalian's partaking of the Lord's Supper, or joining in acts of public worship with other denominations, he declares that the elements "*at the time of consecration*," become "*a means WHEREBY grace is given to us*;" that "*all the power that has been transmitted from the apostles vests in the ministers of our*" [the Episcopal] "*Church*;" that Episcopal ministers and they alone "*have this power of consecration*" * * * "*by the act of consecrating*" [the bread and wine] "*to make*" them "*the AUTHORITY sign*," * * and "*not only a sign, but also a MEANS WHEREBY GRACE IS GIVEN*;" that for this reason, in regard to the Lord's Supper administered by other denominations, "*We*" [Episcopalians] "*know it is not the same table that our Father gives us*" * * "*that their table is not the table our Father has erect-*

Can we wonder at the terrific power of the Popish priesthood, and at the abject submission in which they hold the souls of their votaries, when such a doctrine concerning priestly prerogatives is put forth in the very bosom of Protestant Christendom; while the great author of such a scheme of "despotism and superstition" continues to be held in the highest reverence, and retains for two centuries, and more, the epithet of "*The Judicious*," given him by one of England's worst, weakest, and meanest kings?

Hooker's biographer notices with becoming exultation, that when Hooker's work was first printed, one of the Cardinals at Rome declared to Pope Clement VIII., "That though he had lately said he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of author, yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four books of laws of Church Polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their reading they had not met with any that exceeded him." And the Pope, when he had heard the books of Hooker read, declared that "this man deserves indeed the name of author—nothing is too hard for this man's understanding." It is to us no matter of wonder that Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity should meet with such favor at Rome.

It is well known how much Rome thinks of such "*Holy mortifications*" as fastings, flagellations, going barefoot, and wearing sackcloth. In some austerities of this sort Hooker also seems to have engaged to some purpose; for his biographer records, as one of the things for which Hooker is to be had in veneration, that "his body was worn out, *not with age*, but with study and *holy mortifications*."

Nor did Hooker seem to be altogether freed from all ideas of the efficacy of Auricular Confession and priestly Absolution. His biographer records, that "About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who *knew the very secrets of his soul* (*for they were supposed to be confessors to each other*), came to him, and after a conference of the *benefit, necessity, and safety of the CHURCH'S ABSOLUTION*, it was resolved that the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which the Doctor came, and *after a short retirement and privacy*, they returned to the company." Thus died Hooker, enveloped still in the fogs of the "necessity and safety" of auricular confession and priestly absolution! We wonder still less that Hooker should be in such esteem at Rome.

ed for us" (these Italics are his own), "and consequently we may not join ourselves to it;" and he adds, "*If they are right, we have corrupted this Holy ordinance; but if we are right, they have lost sight of its true nature.*"

These principles both of Church Polity and of doctrinal faith, were the principles against which the Puritans of that day were called to stand. They are the principles which are now once more raising their front, and with honied accents striving to win their way once more to the reverend acceptance of the world. Happy will it be, if the friends of freedom and of Christ, warned by the sad lessons of days that are past, take the alarm and stand manfully for the truth and for freedom before it shall be too late.

KING JAMES I., AND THE GOING TO HOLLAND.

Change of James' Principles on his accession to the English throne.
Hampton Court Conference. Hundred and forty-one Canons. Extra-judicial decision of the twelve Judges. Gathering of the Pilgrim Church. Flight to Holland.

KING JAMES, of Scotland, came to the throne of England, A. D. 1603. The prelates dreaded his accession, and spoke of it with apprehension as the coming of the "Scotch Mist." The Puritans entertained hopes of relief; for King James was not only a Presbyterian, but he had subscribed the solemn League and Covenant. He had, often and solemnly, declared his full conviction of the pre-eminent purity and excellence of the Church and worship of Scotland. Once standing in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, with his bonnet off and his hands lifted up to Heaven, he praised God that he was born in the time of the true light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a Church, the sincerest [purest] kirk in the world. "The Church of Geneva," said he, "keep Pasche and Yule" [Easter and Christmas], "what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor kirk of England, their service is an evil said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same."

While James was making these professions, he was at that very time "carrying on a correspondence with the English nobles and bishops, and promising to continue that very Liturgy which he derided as an ill-said Mass.* The whole character of James was that of a false and lying prince: and he used to glory in his double dealing as the art and mystery of "kingcraft." After his arrival in England, he sank into drunkenness and low debauchery; and would yet from time to time with tears express his hopes, that "God would not impute unto him his infirmity." Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers saw through this shallow

* Bogue and Bennett, p. 52.

monarch, and discovered "that he was either inclined to turn Papist, or to be of no religion."* Such was the man who was now made head of the Church of England.

While James was on his way to take possession of the throne, a petition was presented to him, called the *Millenary petition* from being subscribed by nearly one thousand ministers;—desiring the reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church. The University of Oxford came out against the petition. "Look," said they, "upon the reformed church abroad: whenever the desires of the petitioners take place, how ill it suits with the state of monarchy." They commended the present church establishment to the sovereign, as the great support of the crown, and calculated to support unlimited subjection. The heads of the University of Cambridge wrote a letter of thanks to the Oxonians; and bade the "poor pitiful Puritans" (whom they style *homunciones miserrimi*) "to answer their almost a thousand books in defence of the hierarchy, before they pretend to dispute before so learned and wise a king." The truth was, that the Puritans desired nothing more than a fair field to discuss the pretensions of the hierarchy; but if they wrote, their books were stopped by the censorship of the press; if they were suspected of uttering anything against the hierarchy, they were imprisoned or banished; and for an unpublished manuscript found in his possession, Penry had been hanged.

The king, however, to furnish himself with some pretext for his own apostasy from principles which he had so often avowed and so solemnly subscribed, or to give some color of regard to the millenary petition, and possibly to indulge himself with an opportunity of displaying his own theological lore, appointed a conference between himself and the two parties, at Hampton Court. James himself nominated nine bishops and about as many other dignitaries, and four Puritan divines to conduct the conference for their respective parties.

The first day of the conference, was between the king and bishops and deans alone; the Puritans being excluded. The king made a speech in commendation of the hierarchy of the Church of England, and congratulated himself that he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king as formerly without a State. He assured them, that he had not called this assembly for any innovation; and declared, "That howsoever he had lived among the Puritans, yet since he was ten years old, he ever disliked their opinions; and as Christ said, though he lived among them, he was not of them."

At the next day's conference, four Puritan ministers were

* Bp. Burnet, in Bogue and Bennett.

admitted. When Dr. Reynolds petitioned that the ground for confirmation might be examined, Bancroft fell upon his knees, and begged the king to stop the Doctor's mouth, according to an ancient canon, that schismatics are not to be heard against their bishops. The king at last settled the question by repeating his now favorite maxim, "No bishop, no king." With regard to the garments, the Puritan ministers ventured to express a doubt "*whether the power of the Church could bind the conscience without impeaching Christian liberty.*" The king interrupted them at once: "As to the power of the Church in things indifferent," said his majesty, "I will not argue that point with you; but answer as kings in parliament, *Le Roi s'avisera*"—the king shall think of that:—"but as to liberty in ceremonies, I will have none of that; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and in ceremony; never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."*

The Puritans desiring that the clergy might have liberty for assemblies once in three weeks, and that in rural deaneries they might have the liberty of prophesying [conference meetings], "the king broke out into a flame, and told the ministers they were aiming at a Scots' Presbytery: which," says he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God with the devil." Turning to the bishops, he put his hand to his heart, and said, "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy; for if once you are out and they are in place, I know what would become of my supremacy; for—no bishop, no king." Then turning to Dr. Reynolds, and rising from his chair, the king said, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else hang them, that is all." Throughout the conference, the Puritan ministers were treated with brow-beating and insult. As the king grew hot against the Puritans, the bishops cheered him on with flatteries so gross as to have disgusted any other than one so weak and vain as King James. They broke out into exclamations of wonder at his wisdom; called him the Solomon of the age. Bancroft fell on his knees and said, "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God of his signal mercy has given us such a king as from Christ's time has not been." The lord chancellor said, "He had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person." The king was equally well pleased with himself, and wrote to a Scotsman, that he "had soundly peppered off the Puritans."

The third day of the conference, was between the king and the bishops and the dignitaries alone. The king defended the court of High Commission, the subscription to the Prayer-Book, and

* Neale.

the oath *ex officio*. One of the lords ventured to insist that the proceedings of the High Commissioners Courts' were like the Spanish Inquisition, and that by the oath *ex officio* men were forced to accuse themselves. But the king vindicated the whole, and declared that if any man would not be quiet and show his obedience, "the Church were better without him, and he were worthy to be hanged." Archbishop Whitgift cried out in transport, "Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit."

A few alterations of the Prayer-Book, agreed upon by the king and bishops, was all the reform that this conference afforded. One result of the Hampton Court Conference, however, was our present English translation of the Bible, suggested by the Puritan ministers, who complained of the inaccuracy of the version then in use.

When things were arranged by the king and bishops, the four Puritan ministers were called in, and the Hampton Court Conference closed by the declaration of the king, that he "would have no arguing; let them conform, and that quickly too, or they should hear from it."*

The king issued his proclamation, warning the Puritans that there was to be no toleration of non-conformity: they must conform or suffer the extremities of the law. In his opening speech to his first Parliament, he acknowledged the Romish Church to be his Mother-Church: he said he would indulge their clergy if they would but renounce the Pope's supremacy, and his pretended power to dispense with the murder of kings. He wished there might be a means of uniting the two religions; and said he would be content to meet them midway. But as to the Puritans, said the king, "Their sect is insufferable in any well governed commonwealth."*

The bishops were pleased with this speech. The thoroughly Protestant part of the nation heard, with alarm, the king's offer to meet the Papists half way. "What does he mean? Is there no difference between Popery and Protestantism but the Pope's Supremacy? Is this the only point on which we are separated from Rome?"

In the Parliament, it appeared that the principles of the Puritans had taken deep root. There were those who dared to assert the liberties of the people with such spirit and vigor that the king declared "he would rather live like a hermit in a forest, than be king over such a people as the pack of Puritans that overruled the lower house."

The convention of the clergy, meeting at the same time with the Parliament, busied themselves in framing a book of one hundred

* Neale.

† Neale, and Prince.

and forty-one canons, aimed chiefly at the Puritans. Whoever should speak against the Apostolic character and authority of the Church of England, or against its worship, or articles or ceremonies, or its government by archbishops, bishops, deans, or archdeacons,—or against the form and manner of ordaining bishops, priests or deacons, or separate from its communion, or allow the claims of any other in England to be a Church ;—whoever should do any of these things, was to be by that very deed excommunicated, with no power anywhere to restore him save the archbishop, and that only after repentance and public “revocation of his wicked error.” Nor was this excommunication a simple exclusion from the privileges of the Church : the excommunicated person was incapable of suing for his just dues ; he might be imprisoned till such time as he should make satisfaction to the Church ; and at his death he must be denied Christian burial.*

Whitgift died a few weeks after the Hampton Court Conference, and the fierce Bancroft was made Archbishop of Canterbury in his room. It was he who in A. D. 1588, first publicly maintained in England, the right of Diocesan Bishops above Presbyters by divine appointment ; the common doctrine of the Reformers, and of those who preceded them for centuries, having been, that by divine institution, Bishops and Presbyters were one and the same : and that a Diocesan is superior to a Presby-

* One or two of these 141 Canons will serve as a specimen of the whole :

Canon 4. “Whosoever shall affirm the form of God’s worship in the Church of England established by law, and contained in the book of Common Prayer, and administration of sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, and unlawful worship, or contains anything repugnant to Scripture, let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the Archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of his wicked error.”

Canon 6. “Whosoever shall affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England as by law established, are wicked, anti-christian, or superstitious, or such as being commanded by lawful authority, good men may not with a good conscience approve, use, or as occasion requires, subscribe,—let him be excommunicated,” &c.

Canon 11. “Whosoever shall affirm that there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king’s born subjects, than such as are established by law, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of lawful churches, let them be excommunicated,” &c.

Canon 7. “Whosoever shall affirm that the government * * of the Church of England, by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is anti-christian or repugnant to the Word of God, let him be excommunicated.” &c.

Canon 8 denounces the same upon those who speak against the forms of ordination.

Canon 14 denounces the same upon such as shall add to, or leave out any part of the prayers.

Canon 18, in like manner enjoins bowing at the name of Jesus. Four others relate to the wearing of habits ; one forbids requiring parents to be present at the baptism of their children, and forbids their answering as God-parents. The book concluded with denouncing the anathema of excommunication upon all who should deny that the Assembly making the Canons was not the true Church of England by representation.

ter, only by laws of human appointment. Bancroft was a rough, violent man, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil rights of the people; the creature and tool of the royal prerogatives.

To the tender mercies of this man, the Puritans were now committed, with canons, laws, excommunications, oaths *ex officio*, prisons, and every other engine of tyranny made ready to his hand. He began his career as archbishop, by reviving the strict observance of all the saints'-days and festivals of the Church; by reinstating the use of capes, caps, and hoods; by obliging the clergy to subscribe the articles over again, with an additional avowal, "that they did it willingly and from the heart." Three hundred Puritan ministers, who had not separated from the established Church, were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled in the year 1604.*

The king, to strengthen his hands against the Puritans, summoned the twelve judges into the Star Chamber, to obtain, by an anticipated and extra-judicial decision of the judges, some sanction for further severities which he contemplated. Having secured their sentence in favor of the past proceedings of the High Commission, and of the lawfulness of imposing the oath *ex officio*, the king propounded to the judges, "whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed PETITIONS, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a public cause, as the Puritans had done: with an intimation to the king, that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented." The judges replied, that it was an offence punishable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment; for it *tended* to raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people." In this decision, all the judges agreed.

Thus, the king might make such orders in religious affairs as he pleased, and enforce the same by his High Commission. Should any attempt even to *petition* for redress, they were fineable at pleasure, and in danger of suffering an arraignment for felony or treason. "A later *convocation*," says Bancroft,† "denied every doctrine of popular rights, asserting the superiority of the king to the Parliament and the laws, and admitting, in their zeal for absolute monarchy, no exception to the doctrine of passive obedience. Thus the opponents of the Church became the sole guardians of popular liberty: the lines of the contending parties were distinctly drawn; the established Church and the monarch on one side were arrayed against the Puritan clergy and people."

The whole body of the clergy of London were summoned to

* Bancroft's U. States.

† Hist., vol i., p. 209.

Lambeth to subscribe over again; "but such numbers refused, that the churches were in danger of being disfurnished." In twenty-four counties, there were 746 of the clergy who refused to conform; and it was estimated that the whole number of non-conforming clergy in the kingdom, was from thirteen to fifteen hundred. Again and again had the Puritan ministers been sifted out of the Church by new tests; but the more the plants of freedom were weeded out, the more they seemed to grow. At the time when the Pilgrims were driven to Holland, it was supposed that not twenty ministers known to be in favor of their principles were left in the Church of England; but in a few years they were as numerous as ever.

The bishops were amazed; and shrunk from carrying out fully the measures which they had begun. But great were the sufferings endured by the Puritans, both ministers and people.

These oppressions at length became intolerable; and the victims, seeing no hope of relief, and no prospect before them but destruction, began to turn their eyes to a foreign shore.

Here we come to the *commencement of the wanderings of the Pilgrim Fathers*. The Church of the Pilgrims, who first landed on the rock of Plymouth, was organized in England in the year 1602; and in 1607 and 1608 was driven to Holland by the persecutions under King James I. Bradford, the second governor of the colony of Plymouth, and one of the Pilgrims in all their perils and wanderings, gives this account of the formation of that Church:—"When by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts, many became enlightened with the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered by the word of God's grace, and began by his grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways; the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude; and the ministers were urged with the yoke of subscription or else must be silenced, and the poor people were so urged with apparitors and pursuivants, and the Commission Courts, as truly their affliction was not small." For years they continued to bear these persecutions. At length they began, says Bradford, "*To see further into these things by the light of God's Word*. By this they saw, that the imposition of these "Base and beggarly ceremonies" was "unlawful;" that the "Lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates" was contrary to the gospel; and that their authority to "load men's consciences"—"ought not to be submitted to."

They therefore, "shook off this yoke of anti-christian bondage, and as the Lord's free people joined themselves by a covenant of

the Lord, in a Church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all the ways made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it should cost them.”*

Thus was formed the first of the Puritan Churches of New England; the model of the rest. *It was the fruit of a REVIVAL OF RELIGION*; composed of men who had tasted the grace of God; who felt that the rites and forms of the established Church were indeed “beggarly”—inadequate to express, and too narrow to give scope to the warmest devotions of a new-born soul. They saw that the power of the bishop was hostile to true religion; and discovered that it was unfounded in the Word of God. They perceived that a national establishment, in which churches are gathered indiscriminately by “street rows,” must ever embrace the world in its bosom, and of necessity must, in spite of all articles, become corrupt in doctrine and in discipline, in order to suit the views and taste of a *world*, which, in its present state, *is at enmity with God*. In perilous times they came out from a Church gathered, organized, and governed on worldly principles; and regarded their coming out from such a Church, *as coming out from the world*. At the sacrifice of all their worldly interests, and with the certain prospect of imprisonment or exile, they formed themselves into a Church of Christ; taking his Word for their guide, and *on the very principle of denying entirely the doctrine of baptismal regeneration*, and of grace conferred by priestly prerogatives and interventions; doctrines which naturally constitute the basis of all national Church establishments; and which are very sure, sooner or later, to insinuate themselves into all Christian institutions, where no distinction is made between the parish and the Church.

The Church which had been gathered in 1602, became so numerous, and its members were so widely scattered in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and in some parts of Yorkshire, that in 1606 it became two distinct churches. Of one of these Mr. *John Smith* was pastor. Of him, Governor Bradford says, he “was an eminent man in his time, a good preacher and of good parts.” He was one of them who had been sent to prison for worshipping separately in 1592. Driven out by persecution, he and many of his Church settled at Amsterdam, where he and many of his people became Baptists. Mr. Smith being at a loss for a proper administrator immersed himself, and then administered the rite to others. Afterwards he embraced the Arminian sentiments; and in 1610 he died. Soon after his death, many of his people considering it wrong to flee from per-

* Bradford's Journal, in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims.

secution, returned to England, and, as is generally supposed, became the first congregation of the English General (or Arminian) Baptists.*

The other branch of the Church became the first of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. The pastors of this Church, were *Richard Clifton* and *John Robinson*. *William Brewster*, who came with the Pilgrims to New England, was Teacher and ruling Elder. Gov. Bradford, who was one of the Pilgrims both in their flight to Holland and in their removal to America, says of *Mr. Clifton*, that he was "A grave and fatherly old man when he first came to Holland, having a great white head; and pity it was that such a reverend old man should be forced to go into exile. But it was his lot, and he bore it patiently. Much good had he done in the country where he lived, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry. Sound and orthodox he was, and so continued to his end."

Of *John Robinson*, his friends uniformly spoke in terms of the profoundest veneration, and his enemies with the utmost respect. "He was a man," says Gov. Bradford, "not easily paralleled for all things, * * a man learned, of solid judgment, of a quick sharp wit, of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways." Baylie, the bitter enemy of the Puritans, says, that "Robinson was a man of excellent parts, and the most polished and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England."† The writings of Robinson that remain, fully justify the highest character given of him by his friends. Able, clear, discriminating, deeply learned, patient, laborious, honest and candid, in an uncommon degree for this world,—uniting distinguished humility and meekness with dauntless courage,—Robinson was a fine model of the Puritan character; and happily was he mated in his compeer and fellow laborer *Brewster*, who, on their arrival at Leyden, was chosen teaching elder of the same Church. In his early years, Brewster had been employed in an embassy to the Low Countries, and had long been known as a man of character and capacity. He had long been distinguished for his piety, and for his zeal and sacrifices in endeavoring to do good. For thirty-six years he bore his part in all the sorrows and sufferings of the Pilgrim Church; the last twenty-four of which were spent at Plymouth, where, at the age of four-score years, he died, the venerated patriarch of the first generation of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England.

The Church of which Robinson and Brewster were ministers, was composed of choice men. It required a deep insight into God's Word, great sincerity of conscience, a religious integrity too strong to be overcome by losses or perils, or to be seduced

* Murdock's *Mosheim*, iii., p. 219. † Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 453.

by the love of ease, of comfort, or a home. It required some deep experience of the work of God in the soul to make one willing to come out of the established Church, and to join his lot to that of the persecuted Puritans. *Ignorant* minds could not appreciate the Puritan principles. *Fanatical* minds would be worn out by the long continued sufferings that were to be endured; and by the caution and steadiness required to walk warily amid the treacheries and snares that surrounded the Puritans. *Light* and *wavering* spirits were sure to be brushed away by the rough hand of adversity. Nothing but intelligence to discern the truth, love to God, deep principles of religious integrity and faith, and courage and firmness too strong for earth or hell to overcome, could make a man a Puritan in those days. God was about to plant the Christian religion pure in a new world; in a vast and important field, that had been kept vacant, in reserve for the last great scene of the great drama of all time; and in the furnace of affliction he chose the instruments of that great work. Its fruits the world has just begun to reap, in results of freedom, enterprise, and pure religion, which have already made the embarkation of the Pilgrims, and the sorrowful parting at Delft-Haven, one of the great epochs in the history of time.

The Pilgrim Church was now on the eve of its removal. "They could not," says Bradford, "continue in any peaceable manner; but were hunted and persecuted on every side." Some were seized and imprisoned, others had their houses watched night and day, and with difficulty escaped. Most were glad to flee, leaving their houses and their means of livelihood. "Seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance," says Bradford, "they resolved to go into the Low countries, *where they heard was freedom of religion for all men.*" Yet here difficulties awaited them; it was a strange land, and they were to sojourn among a people of a strange speech. The people there lived mainly by trades and traffic; but the Pilgrims were accustomed only to till the ground. The adventure seemed to them almost desperate; yet liberty of conscience and a pure religion seemed to them worth more than life.

But their persecutors were unwilling to let them escape. The ports and harbors were closed against them. They were obliged secretly to hire mariners at exorbitant rates, to take them in at remote and unfrequented places; and even here they were betrayed and surprised, and put to indescribable losses and sufferings. Out of many such troubles Bradford relates two as specimens of the whole. A great company had hired a vessel to take them from Boston in Lincolnshire, and made an agreement with the master to be ready on a certain day, to take them and their goods in at a convenient place, where all would be in readiness.

"So," says Bradford, "after a long waiting, and large expenses, though he kept not day with them, yet he came at length and took them in the night. And when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them; having beforehand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do; who took them and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their very shirts for money; yea, even the women, further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and a wonderment to the people who came flocking on all sides to behold them."* Stripped of their money, books and goods, they were brought before the magistrates and committed to prison; when, after being detained a month, the greater part were dismissed; but seven of the principal men were kept in prison to the next assizes. Among those who were set free, was *Bradford*, then a young man of 18 years; who, after many perils by land and sea, found his way to Holland. *Brewster* was among the number of those detained in prison.

The next year (1608), a large number agreed with the master of a Dutch ship to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, "where was a large common a good way distant from any town." The women and children and goods were sent to the place in a small bark, while the men were to make the best of their way by land. The bark arriving a day too soon, and the sea being rough, the women prevailed with the seamen to put in at a small creek, where at low water they were aground. "The next morning the ship came; the captain sent his boats to bring off the men whom he saw walking on the shore. But after the first boat-full was got aboard, and he was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company both horse and foot, with bills, and guns, and other weapons, for the country was raised to take them." "The Dutchman seeing that," says Bradford, "swore his country's oath, and having the wind fair, weighed anchor, hoisted sails, and away." * "But the poor men which were got on board, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken; and even left destitute of their helps; and themselves also not having a cloth to shift them with more than they had on their backs, and scarce a penny about them; all they had being on board the bark. It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had, they would have given to be on shore again." Bradford might well attest this, for he was among those on board the ship. A storm arose. For seven days they saw neither sun, moon, nor stars. They were driven to the coast of Norway. The mariners themselves gave up hopes of life, and "once with shrieks and cries gave over all as if the ship had been

* Bradford, in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims.

foundered in the sea. But when the men's help wholly failed," says Bradford, "the Lord's power and mercy appeared for their recovery; for the ship rose again, and gave the mariners courage again to manage her; and if modesty should suffer me," says Bradford, "I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in their great distress, especially some of them, even without any distraction, when the water ran into their very ears and mouths, and the mariners cried out, We sink,—they cried, Yet, Lord, thou canst save; yet, Lord, thou canst save."

That ship bore the destinies of New England. It was not the will of God that she should perish. The storm abated; they arrived at their haven.

But that pitiful group of their companions left on the shore, and on that bark:—the men seeing the troops surrounding them made their escape; all save some who offered themselves to remain, to do what could be done for the women and children. "But it was pitiful," says Bradford, "to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side; some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship; * * others not knowing what should become of their little ones: others melted in tears, seeing their poor ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold."

The women were apprehended, and hurried with their children from place to place, from one magistrate to another. To imprison women and innocent children for no crime than that of going with their husbands and fathers, seemed hard. They had no houses to which the magistrates might send them: their houses and livings being sold. They were, however, made to suffer for some time, till at length their persecutors, not knowing what to do with them, suffered them to go at large.

These were the mothers of New England. This was the beginning of their pilgrimage. It was with more comfort and hope, twelve years after this, that they greeted the wintry coasts and unbroken forests of the New England shore.

Under such perils and difficulties, did the Pilgrim Fathers commence their wanderings. Another summer, and the husbands and wives and children, were gathered together in Holland, where they could worship God in peace.

XI.

THE VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

Question of Removal. Meeting for Deliberation. Guiana. Application to the King. The Arrangements. Farewell Meeting. Parting at Delft-Haven. The Departure. The Mayflower upon the Ocean. The Compact. Provincetown Harbor. Landing at Plymouth.

THE Pilgrims, now arrived in the Low Countries, found themselves strangers and homeless in a strange land. The language, the customs, the dress, the employments of the people,—all were strange. The scanty resources of the Pilgrims having been much diminished by disadvantageous sales, by the plunderings of their persecutors, and by the expenses of their embarkation and voyage, they found immediate need of their best foresight and endeavor, to sustain themselves and their children. "For," says Bradford, "though they saw fair and beautiful cities flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grim and grizzled face of poverty coming on them like an armed man, with whom they must encounter, and from whom they could not flee."

But even then, religion and Heaven were uppermost in their minds. These were the difficulties which they had looked in the face from the beginning; and when the trial came they were neither disappointed nor dismayed.

Finding their brethren of the Churches, of Johnson, Ainsworth, and Smith, who had come out before them, now fallen into unhappy disputes at Amsterdam, where the Pilgrim Church came first to sojourn; they thought it best to remove before they were any way engaged in these dissensions. They removed to Leyden, "a fair and beautiful city," says Bradford, "and a sweet situation; but wanting in that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates." * * * "Being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and employments as they best could; valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any

riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, with hard and continual labor."

Bradford, the future Governor of Plymouth Colony, bound himself apprentice to a silk-dyer. Brewster became a teacher, and afterwards a printer; giving to the world such books as the press was not allowed to strike off in England. "Being thus settled," says Bradford, "they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society."

* * * "And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation."* The number of communicants in the Church appears to have been about 300. "Never," said the magistrates of the city, after these people had continued among them for ten years, "Never did we have any suit or accusation against any of them." "Such was the humble zeal and fervent love of this people towards God and his ways," says Bradford, "that they seemed to come surprisingly near the primitive pattern of the first Churches." * * * "They lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbances that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love; and so they continued, until by mutual consent they removed into New England."

It was in the year 1617 that the Pilgrims began to discuss the question of removing to America. The thought originated with Robinson and Brewster; who, after mature deliberation, imparted their thoughts to other members of the congregation.† Bradford and Winslow, who both participated in these deliberations, have set down the reasons which weighed for this removal. The country was hard; many had spent their estates and had been forced to return to England. Most of them were in adult life, and some far advanced in years when they were driven from home by persecution; and now "old age began to come on some of them." "Many of their children," says Bradford, "that were of the best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that although their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed down under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their very youth." But the prevalent licentiousness of the youth around them, the numerous temptations and evil examples of the place, were sources of great apprehension to the Pilgrims. "Some became soldiers; others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others some worse courses tending to dissoluteness and danger of their souls." The Sabbath was almost universally profaned in Holland. This was a great grief to the Pilgrims, and a snare to their children. They were loth that

* Bradford in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*. † Winslow.

their posterity should live under any other government than that of England. "Lastly," says Gov. Bradford, "(and that was not least) a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundations, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world, *"though they should be as stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work."*

Well were these reasons for removal weighed. Well were the dangers considered. The Pilgrims were now in mature life, when the rashness of enterprise, if not enterprise itself, begins to decline. They had had experience of hardships; and if persecution may be supposed to kindle up a resolute enthusiasm, they had now been settled in quietness for eight years. It was sober judgment, religious principle, and prudent forecast, laying plans for the building up of Christ's kingdom unfettered and free in the wilderness of the New World. Advanced in years as the Pilgrims were, they could not expect to enjoy the comforts of life, or to behold anything beyond the first beginnings of a new settlement, alone and unsupported on a distant wilderness shore. They lived FOR CHRIST AND FOR THEIR POSTERITY.

The project of a removal to America was made public for the scanning of all. Some, full of hope, dwelt upon the brighter aspects of the enterprise. Others, as caution or despondency prompted, thought of the hazards and dangers of the scheme. They dwelt upon the casualties of the seas; for, at that time, a voyage across the Atlantic was not like a voyage of the present day. They alleged the weak bodies of the men and women, worn out with age and labor; the miseries of a wilderness; the danger of famine and nakedness; the changing of their diet and water, as likely to infect their bodies with weakness or disease; the well known treachery and ferocity of the savages; their "delight to flay men alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the limbs by piece-meal, and broiling them on the coals, and causing men to eat the collops of their flesh in their sight while they lived." "And surely," says Bradford, "it could not be thought but the hearing of these things could not but move the bowels of men to grate within them and tremble." In reply, the more courageous answered, That all great and honorable actions were always accompanied with difficulties. It was granted that the dangers were great, but not desperate, and the difficulties many, but not invincible. "All, through the help of God, by fortitude, might either be borne or overcome." Besides, it was alleged, their condition was not ordinary; they were now only in exile, and in poor condition; as great miseries might befall them in their present residence; the twelve years' truce were now out, and nothing was to be heard but the beating of drums and preparing

for war; the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniards might prove as cruel as the savages of America.*

Having freely discussed in private, the subject of a removal, the congregation at length set apart a time for fasting and prayer for the Lord's direction. This done, they came together for solemn deliberation, and for a final decision of this great affair.

"Some, and none of the meanest," says Bradford (and he was one of that important council), "had thoughts and were earnest for Guiana." Sir Walter Raleigh, a few years before this, had written a description of that country, which he calls "a mighty, rich, and beautiful empire, directly east from Peru, towards the sea, lying under the equinoctial line." Its capital was that great golden city which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and the natives Manoa, and for greatness, riches, and excellent seat, it far exceedeth any in the world." Such was the fabulous *El Dorado*: and in that age of discoveries, things wonderful and strange had become so common, that nothing was too extravagant to surpass belief. Raleigh had sailed up the Oronoco 400 miles in quest of that far-famed city. "On both sides of this river," said he, "we passed the most beautiful country that mine eyes ever beheld; plains of twenty miles in length; the grass short and green; and in divers parts, groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labor of the world so made of purpose; and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call; * * * The river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble; * * * the birds towards the evening singing on every tree a thousand tunes, the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stopped to take up, promised either gold or silver by his complexion. I never saw a more beautiful country nor more lively prospects."†

In such terms, Sir Walter Raleigh had described the country of Guiana. Such arguments some of the principal men urged, to turn the thoughts of the Pilgrims to these sunny and fertile plains of the south, rather than to the wintry hills and forests of North America. But the wary Pilgrims saw lurking evils under these inviting prospects. They thought of the fierce diseases of a sultry clime. The English nation had no claim to these regions. The colonies of Spain were in their neighborhood; and

* The providence of God is to be remarked, in bringing the Pilgrims to Holland just at the beginning of a truce of twelve years, agreed upon after a war of more than thirty years between the United Provinces and Spain. Just when that truce was closing, and everywhere was the beating of drums and preparations for war, the Pilgrims, having now had time to establish their Church Polity, and to gather their friends and resources from England, were led across the ocean, to the destiny which God had appointed them to fulfil.

† In Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*. p. 51.

Spain was then a powerful and dreaded nation—pre-eminent in bigotry and fierce intolerance.

The deliberation ended in favor of the Northern parts of what was then called Virginia. Trusty men were sent over to England to see if their enterprise might find favor with the king; and if liberty of conscience might be allowed.

“To enlarge my dominions,” said King James, “is a good and honest motion. But whence may profits accrue to yourselves and to the crown?” “From the fisheries at least,” replied the envoys. “So God have my soul,” said the king, with his customary profaneness, “’tis an honest trade. It was the Apostles’ own calling.” But King James would give them no further answer than to refer them to the Bishops of Canterbury and London. The envoys chose rather to rest upon his majesty’s first indefinite and informal approbation. The Virginia Company were desirous to have them go, and willing to grant them an ample charter; but no persuasions could wring a consent from the king that they might be allowed liberty of religion, and have it secured under the great seal. The king allowed them to gather from his discourse, that he would not molest them in the exercise of their religion, but he would grant nothing further. The more sagacious concluded it best to act upon the king’s implied promise that he would not molest them; for, said they, if the king should hereafter take it into his head to trouble us, it would be no security if we had his seal “as broad as the barn-floor. He would make pretexts; he would devise ways enough to re-call or reverse it.” “We must rest on God’s providence.”

“At the very time that this negotiation was pending, the king issued his declaration requiring the Bishop of Lancashire to constrain all the Puritans within his diocese to conform or leave the country.”*

After many delays and discouragements, which tried the patience of the Pilgrims, and shook off many uncertain friends, a patent was obtained of the Virginia Company; which, though it cost much, was afterwards of no use. Many of the Church at Leyden were too poor to defray the expenses of the voyage; and the means of all united were inadequate to obtain ships and procure the necessary outfit. They were compelled to form a sort of partnership with a company of merchant adventurers for a term of seven years; each one having a share according to the stock which he was able to contribute; and the person of each emigrant above 16 years to be rated at £10.

The patent, and the conditions of this agreement, being sent over to the people for their consideration, the Church now

* Prince.

held a solemn meeting, and observed a day of fasting and prayer. Under their trying circumstances, Mr. Robinson preached from the text, "*And David's men said unto him, see, we be afraid here in Judah; how much more if we come to Keilah against the host of the Philistines? Then David asked counsel of the Lord.*" Strengthened and encouraged by their pastor's words, they decided to go. It was concluded that part of the church should go first; and that such of the youngest part should go as might freely offer themselves. If the majority should go, the pastor was to go with them; if not, then the elder only. If the Lord should frown upon the enterprise, "then those that went [were] to return, and the brethren that remained still here to assist and be helpful to them; but if God should be pleased to favor them that went, then they also should endeavor to help such as were here, poor and ancient, and willing to come."* "Those who go," says Bradford, "to be an absolute Church by themselves; as well as those who should stay; with this proviso, that as any go over and return, they should be reputed as members without further dismission or testimonial; and those who tarry, to follow the rest as soon as they can."

Two trusty men were now sent—Mr. Cushman, to London, and Mr. Carver, to Southampton—to make arrangements. "Those who were to go first, prepare with all speed; sell their estates; put their money into the common stock to furnish the supplies for the company; they cease from their ordinary business; they employ themselves with diligence in making the preparations for so great a work." When all is nearly ready on their part, some on whom they relied in England disappoint them. Some would do nothing unless they would go to Virginia. Others were dissatisfied that they went not to Guiana. Some of the merchants, who had proffered to adventure their money, "withdrew and pretended many excuses." "In the midst of these difficulties," says Bradford, "they of Leyden were drawn to great straits." The season had advanced to June. On the 4th, Mr. Robinson wrote to Mr. Carver, complaining of the neglect of Mr. Weston, the merchant adventurer, in not getting shipping as he had engaged. In another week the Leyden people were encouraged by the coming of their pilot. Mr. Cushman writes that he is getting a ship, and hopes all will be ready in fourteen days. The Pilgrims hasten their preparation. A small ship of sixty tons (in size like one of our coasting packet sloops) is provided in Holland. Another of 180 tons is hired in London, and in these the Pilgrim Church with their children, and all their supplies, and means of defence for founding a colony in a wilderness remote from all human aid, are to cross the ocean!

* Winslow.

"So being ready to depart," says Bradford, "they had a day of solemn humiliation; their pastor taking his text from Ezra, viii. 21. '*Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for our substance.*' The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears."*

Their pastor gave them his farewell advice. "We are now ere long," said he, "to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether we shall ever live to see each other's faces again. * * * I charge you before God and his blessed angels, to follow me no further than I have followed Christ. If God shall reveal anything to you by any other instrument, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry. I am very confident that the Lord has more truth and light to break forth out of his holy Word." "He took occasion," says Winslow, "to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their Reformation; * * * the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther said * * * the Calvinists stick where he left them: a misery much to be lamented; for though these men were precious and shining lights in their times, yet God hath not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living they would be as ready to embrace further light as that which they had received." He put the Pilgrims in mind of their covenant, "to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known from his written Word; but exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare it, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth before we received it. For, saith he, it is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once." "Words," says Prince, "almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry which then prevailed in the English nation; wherein this truly great and learned man, seems to be the only divine who was capable of rising into a noble freedom of thinking and practising in religious matters, and even of urging such an equal liberty on his own people."†

* In Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 87.

† This has ever been the great principle of Puritanism: that God's Word is the sole and sufficient standard of faith and duty. Nearly a century after the landing of the Pilgrims, an assembly of Connecticut ministers, in setting forth their general assent to the Savoy Confession of Faith, as containing the system of doctrine which they embraced,—deemed it important to preface that act and confession with these words, worthy to be written in broad letters of living light. "We do not assume to ourselves that anything is to be taken upon trust from us, but commend to our people the following counsels: 1. That you be immoveably and unchangeably

The advice of the pastor being given, and their clothing and effects being packed and in readiness, they turn their thoughts to their departure. "And when the ship was ready to carry us away," says Winslow (the future governor of the colony, but now a young man of 26 years), "the brethren that stayed having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before; they that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice; there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that mine ears ever heard."

"And now," says Bradford, "the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with the most of their brethren out of the city unto a town sundry miles off, called DELFT-HAVEN [24 miles south of Leyden], "where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting-place nearly twelve years; BUT THEY KNEW THEY WERE PILGRIMS, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." * * "When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them; and sundry came also from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse." * * "The next day [July 22, 1620], the wind being fair, they went on board, and their friends with them; when truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs, and sobs, and prayers, did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye; and pithy speeches pierced each other's heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide which stays for no man, calling them away that were loth to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayer to the Lord for his blessing; and then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leave of one another."

agreed in the only sufficient and invariable rule of religion, which is THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, the fixed canon, incapable of addition or diminution. You ought to account nothing ancient that will not stand by this rule; and nothing new that will. 2. That you be determined by this rule in the whole of religion. That your faith be right and divine, the Word of God must be the foundation of it, and the authority of the Word the reason of it."

I avow it; there is no other scene in the history of man, in which mere human beings and uninspired men were the actors, on which my eyes would gaze with so much interest—could any past scene be recalled :—"That memorable parting at Delft-Haven!" What men and women, with their children, the hope of their future country, were there! For what principles were they exiles from their native land! What principles, what institutions are they about to carry into the New World! It is one of the great epochs in the course of time. What changes are to come over the face of the whole world! what revolutions in the principles of human government, and in the prevalent views of human rights! How auspicious that day for the divine light and freedom of God's Holy Word, and for the freedom and happiness of mankind! Strike from the pages of history the achievements of an Alexander or a Cæsar, or blot out the very existence of empires that have swayed the world for centuries in their turn—and comparatively little is lost. But blot out of existence that band of Pilgrims at Delft-Haven, with the principles for which they have suffered, and what they are going to plant in the American wilderness,—and alas! what desolation, what darkness broods over the destinies of man!

The youthful Winslow adds some touches which the more ancient Bradford saw not fit to add to the picture. The prayer being over, "A flood of tears was poured out, but we were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow." * * "The ship ready to sail, the wind being fair, we gave them a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordnance; and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed."

A prosperous wind carries them to Southampton, where they find "the bigger ship come from London, lying ready with all the rest of their company."

And now all things being prepared, the company is called together to hear a letter which Mr. Robinson had sent after them. "Then they ordered and distributed their company for either ship; chose a governor and two or three assistants for each ship to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of their provisions, and such like affairs." Which being done, on the 5th of August they set sail.

Unexpected delays had already protracted the time of their departure until it was too late for the comfortable beginning of a settlement on a wilderness shore. Now further delays awaited them. The master of the *Speedwell* (the smaller vessel) complained that his ship was so leaky that he durst not put further to sea. Both ships were forced to return; and on the eighth day after leaving port they put into Dartmouth, when the *Speedwell*

was searched and repaired. They had not sailed again more than a hundred leagues, before Reynolds, the master of the *Speedwell*, complained that his ship was so leaky that he feared that he should founder in the sea if he held on. Both ships put back and went into Plymouth. The *Speedwell* was searched again, but no great matter appearing, the difficulty was judged to be a general weakness of the ship. "The ship afterwards made divers profitable and successful voyages," some alteration having been made in her masts. The truth was, that the master and crew were under contract to stay a year in America; but fearing the want of provisions and other perils of the adventure, "they plotted this stratagem," says Bradford, "to free themselves; as was afterwards known, and by some of them confessed."

"These things falling out, it was resolved by the whole company to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her; and that the other part of the company should proceed in the bigger ship." And now, after another sad parting, on the 6th of September, the *Speedwell* returns to London, and the *Mayflower*, with her precious freight, turns her prow to the ocean. For a time the winds are fair, and bear them rapidly forward. Then contrary winds meet them: then fierce storms. The upper works of the ship are shattered, and leak badly; one of the main beams of the midship is bent and cracked; and the ship seems in peril of being crushed by the waves. The seamen and passengers hold a consultation whether to return or hold on. Providence has ordered it that one of the passengers has brought with him a large screw out of Holland. With that screw they bring the beam into its place, where it is secured by the carpenter, and the ship appearing strong under water, they hold on their voyage. A succession of storms comes upon them. For days together the ship is unable to bear a sail; and is tossed and driven at the mercy of the tempests. Two months pass away, and they are yet upon the deep. The chill winds of coming winter give them sad tokens of what they are to expect upon a bleak and houseless shore. At length on the 9th of November, the cry of LAND is heard. It proves to be the extremity of Cape Cod; while their destination is in the vicinity of the Hudson. They alter their course, and stand to the southward. But they are on an unknown coast. The wintry wind, veering, baffling, and stormy, beats upon them. Twelve hours more, and they are entangled in shoals and breakers. The wind begins to fail them. The peril becomes imminent. They hold a consultation what to do, and bear up again for the Cape.

And now, while the ship is standing northward along the Cape, the Pilgrims draw up and sign a covenant, by which they combine themselves into a "civil body politic," to enact, constitute and frame such equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions

and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony ; unto which they promised all due submission and obedience." It was the first social compact in the world, entered into by freemen preserving the liberties of each, and guaranteeing to all equal privileges and rights. It was the germ of the first true republic on earth. The great idea, so novel, so startling to the world, so directly opposed to the divine right of kings and prelates, under whose sway the world had so long groaned in bondage ; the great idea of such a republic, as founded in the nature and inalienable rights of man, the Pilgrims derived from the Gospel scheme of a Christian Church. A congregational Church was the original and model of American Republicanism ; and for this stupendous discovery, which is now so simple that we wonder it could ever have been overlooked, we are wholly indebted to the diligent search which the Puritans made into the great principles of the rights of conscience, and into the true scriptural model of a Christian Church. That memorable transaction, in the cabin of the Mayflower, arose from no sudden effort of genius, and from no amazing reach of political sagacity ; it was only the practical and natural carrying out of principles which had long been canvassed, and which had become in the minds of the Pilgrims settled and undoubted truths. It was the form of government which it was well understood they should adopt, before they sailed from Holland. For eighteen years they had tried the experiment in their republican Church ; and so well were they satisfied, that they could never resort to any other constitution of government. These things Mr. Robinson alludes to as understood and settled, in the letter which he sent after them to Southampton. He speaks of their "design to become a body politic using civil government ;" and exhorts them to orderly submission to such government from the consideration that it is God's ordinance, and that they "*are to have only them for their governors, which they themselves should make choice of.*" Nor did the Pilgrims at first contemplate forming a written compact ; they seemed to take it for granted, that joining the community under such circumstances, imposed, on every one so joining, a sufficient bond ; and that God had naturally given to every community so circumstanced, authority to institute government, which, whenever duly established, should be one of the "Powers ordained of God ;" and not dependent on the consent of every individual to bind him to its laws. The *occasion* for making the compact, was that "they observe some who were not well affected to unity and concord, but who gave some appearance of faction." It was thought good, therefore, that there should be an association and agreement.

The compact being signed, the Mayflower was now winding

her way around the extremity of Cape Cod; and on the 11th of November, she cast her anchor in what is now Provincetown, or Cape Cod harbor.

"Being now passed the vast ocean, and a sea of trouble," says one who then stood upon the deck of the *Mayflower*, "before their preparation unto further proceedings, as to seek a place of habitation, &c., they fell down upon their knees and blessed the Lord, the God of Heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth." The same day, some fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, were sent with others to fetch wood, for the Pilgrims had none left, and to see to what sort of land they had come. They returned at night, having discovered no person or habitation; but with "their boat loaded with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and which they burnt most of the time they lay there."

The next day was the Sabbath, and all remained quietly on board.

On Monday, the 13th of November, they unshipped their shallop to mend and repair her; having been forced to cut her down in stowing her betwixt decks; and "she having become much opened with the people's lying in her." Seventeen days were passed away while the carpenter was completing this indispensable work. In the mean time the people by turns went on shore to refresh themselves, "and the women to wash, as they had great need." The ship had not been able to come nearer than three-fourths of a mile to the shore; and the shallows compelled the people "to wade a bow-shot or two in going to land," "which caused many to get colds and coughs, for many times it was freezing cold weather."

In the meantime sixteen men, every one with his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Capt. Miles Standish, set out to explore the country. On the 27th of November, their shallop and long-boat being repaired, another party of thirty men in the shallop and long-boat proceed along the cape to a greater distance. Stormy weather drives them on shore. They march over hills and through valleys and deserts, making various discoveries and enduring great hardships; but everywhere the soil is barren, and the shore too shelving for a convenient harbor.

On the 6th of December, the third exploring party set off from the ship, it "being very cold and bad weather," and several being very near perishing with fatigue and cold, ere they could get clear of a sandy point which lay within a furlong from the ship. The water "froze on their coats, and made them," says their journal, "like coats of iron." After various adventures, passing through storms of snow, and over rough seas, and being nearly lost on breakers, they are driven into a "fair sound," where they

“get under the lee of a small rise of land; but are divided about going ashore, lest they should fall into the midst of savages. Some, therefore, keep the boat; but others being so wet, cold and feeble, that they cannot bear it, but venture ashore with great difficulty, kindle a fire, and after midnight, the wind shifting to the north-west, and freezing hard, the rest are glad to get to them, and here stay the night.” It was a small island in Plymouth bay, to which Providence had now directed their course. In the morning they explore it and find no inhabitants. The next day is the Sabbath; and though their business is so pressing, and their friends awaiting their return with anxiety, and though winter is already upon them, *yet there they KEEP THE SABBATH.* The next day they explore the harbor and march into the land. They find vacant corn-fields, little running brooks, a good harbor, and a place good for situation. They returned to the ship. On the 15th of December, the ship weighs anchor, to proceed to the place of settlement; but stormy weather makes them glad to return once more to the shelter of the cape. On the 16th, they come safe into the harbor. This again is Saturday, and the next day being the Sabbath, they remain on board and keep it holy unto the Lord. On Monday, a trusty party land for further exploration. They march along the coast, but see not an Indian nor a habitation. At night, they return weary to the ship. On the 19th, they go ashore and determine to fix upon one of two places. In the morning of DEC. 20TH, they go ashore, and conclude “by most voices, to set in the main-land on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared and hath been planted with corn, three or four years ago, and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hill-side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbor our shallop exceeding well.” The next day it was stormy, and those on board could not go ashore; those that remained on land all night, “could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight sufficient to make them a court of guard to keep them dry.” “All that night it blew and rained extremely. It was so tempestuous that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11 o’clock, the shallop went off with much ado, with provision, but could not return. Friday, Dec. 22d, the storm continued so that those on board could not get to land. On the 23d, so many as could, went on shore and felled timber for building. On Thursday the 28th, they went to work on a hill to form a platform for the cannon on a site commanding all the plain and bay; and began to measure out the ground, and to arrange the families. It was the 20th of Jan., before they made up their shed for their common goods: and on the 21st of Jan., 1621, they kept their first Sabbath on land.

XII

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

Apparent designs of Providence. Contrast between Popery in South America and Protestantism in the North. The fruits of Puritanism in New England. Sufferings of the Pilgrims. The first harvest. The first Thanksgiving. New settlers. Famine. Day of Fasting. Return of Plenty.

LET us now go back to the 10th day of November, A. D. 1620, when the Mayflower, hardly escaping from the shoals and breakers in her attempted passage to the Hudson, turns her course, and bears up once more for the northern extremity of the cape. An eloquent orator has thus drawn the picture.* "Let us go up in imagination to yonder hill, and look out upon the November scene. That single dark speck just discernible through the perspective glass on the waste of water, is the fated vessel. The storm moans through her tattered canvass, as she creeps, almost sinking, to her anchorage in Provincetown harbor; and there she lies with all her treasures, not of silver and gold (for of these she had none), but of courage, of patience, of zeal, of high spiritual daring. So often as I dwell in imagination on this scene; when I consider the condition of the Mayflower, utterly incapable as she was of living through another gale; when I survey the terrible front presented by our coast to the navigator, who, unacquainted with its channels and roadsteads, should approach it in the stormy season, I dare not call it a piece of good fortune that the general north and south wall of the shore of New England should be broken by this extraordinary projection of a cape, running out into the ocean a hundred miles, as if on purpose to receive and encircle the precious vessel. As I now see her freighted with the destinies of a continent, barely escaped from the perils of the deep, approaching the shore precisely where the broad sweep of this most remarkable headland presents almost the only point, where, for hundreds of miles, she could with any ease have made a harbor, and this, perhaps, the very best on the seaboard, I feel my spirit raised above the sphere of mere natural agencies. I see the

* Hon. Edward Everett, at the Cape Cod Centennial Celebration, 1839.

mountains of New England rising from their rocky thrones. They rush forward into the ocean, settling down as they advance; and there they range themselves, a mighty bulwark around the heaven-directed vessel. Yes, the everlasting God himself stretches out the arm of his mercy and his power, in substantial manifestation, and gathers the meek company of his worshippers as in the hollow of his hand."

Their course was indeed heaven-directed. Had they gone to the vicinity of the Hudson, they must have been involved in difficulties with the settlers owing allegiance to another nation, or perhaps have been reduced under their power.

These were the men, of all time, the best fitted by peculiar discipline for just the work which the Providence of God led them to accomplish. They had been taught the great principles of evangelical truth and of religious freedom, by just such conflicts as are necessary to separate the truth from old systems of abuse and error. By long continued sufferings, they had learned to prize these principles as dearer than their pleasant homes in England, and dearer even than life. For the truth, for freedom, for their posterity, for God, they had come with their wives and little ones to a wilderness. Far from all human aid, with all their resources in themselves and God, they had come to plant themselves on the borders of that interminable forest, whose only sounds were the deep moaning of the winds through the branches that cast their unbroken shadows over a continent; save as at times the howlings of wild beasts, and the yells of savage men gave to this awful loneliness a variety of terror. After a long night of a thousand years brooding over the whole world, the Lord had effectually brought to light once more the fundamental principles of his Holy Word. When lordly prelates joined with the civil power to impose ceremonials and forms unfriendly to the truth and inconsistent with purity of worship, then the Lord led his people to make further discoveries of the principles of religious freedom. He suffered those in spiritual lordships to harden their hearts, till by grievous persecutions they had driven the subjects of their tyranny to a clear discernment of the corruptions and usurpations, wrought into the very frame-work of the Church organizations and civil institutions of the old world. As there was no place on the Eastern continent where these great principles might develope themselves, and show their beauty, and mature their fruits, the Lord brought this people, so prepared, into a new world. He guided them to an accessible haven. He brought them into a void space, from which his Providence had just swept off the original inhabitants by a desolating pestilence; thus furnishing fields already prepared, and removing all enemies from their immediate borders. By bringing the adventur-

ers into a rough land of rocks and hills, requiring toil and frugality, and securing vigor and sagacity to its cultivators, the Lord provided for the future sending off of hardy and well trained colonists, to the wide plains and the fertile banks of the magnificent rivers of the west; of adventurers to trade in every mart of commerce throughout the land; and of mariners to spread their sails on every sea, and to visit every portion of the globe. Thus was provision made for spreading the principles of the Pilgrims throughout the land, and for extending their influence over the world. Can any one fail to recognize in all this the finger of God? Here is indeed no pillar of cloud or of fire. Yet in all these events, connected with their great results, the Providence of God declares itself as if in broad and legible lines; calling upon us to recognize His hand; and encouraging the hope—if we forsake not the God of our fathers—that He has yet greater designs to accomplish, and yet more signal mercies to bestow upon mankind, as the ultimate result of that series of providences, which planted the Pilgrims in this American land.

O what emotions often fill my soul, when, on the very soil on which the early fathers of New England trod, and looking abroad over the hills and waters on which they once looked, and while walking amid their graves, I think of the hand of God so clearly revealed; and on his great designs in bringing such a race of men to people the shores of this great continent! What other people on earth can point to such an ancestry as the people of New England? Who else are under such obligations to truth, to freedom, and to God? I avow it—my soul pities those who for light reasons, and for the most part without examination, have thrown the principles of such fathers away; and who, on the principles to which they are now schooled to submit, must count those fathers fanatics, misguided, ignorant, and turbulent men, rushing into a sinful schism from unworthy motives, and for an unworthy cause! I envy not those who must now blot out these fair lines of God's good providence; who must regard the reasons which led the Pilgrims to brave the ocean and the wilderness, as unwarrantable; their landing on the rock of Plymouth an ill-omened event; and who can behold nothing in all the fruits of their labors, save the results of an unhappy and wicked revolt from the rich blessings and lawful rule of a righteous ecclesiastical dominion! Sure I am, that those Pilgrims were well informed and godly men. Sure I am, that they examined these principles with a patience and research to which the present age is well nigh a stranger. Were Robinson and his compeers alive; were Cotton, and Shepard, and Elliot, and multitudes of the first ministers of New England now alive, and in our midst,—there are no ministers of religion in this country

or in the world, who, for learning, eloquence, character, or anything that adorns humanity—could pretend to be their superiors. The results of their labors are manifest to all the world. The prelatic system, the antagonist to theirs, has continued to reign in the old world, as it had already reigned for a thousand years. The Puritan principles came with a small band of outcasts into a desolate wilderness. Only two centuries are elapsed; but take the history of those two hundred years, and tell me: Which of these two systems has most signalized itself by results of freedom and intelligence? Which has done most for the advancement of right principles? Which has done most to exalt and bless the people who have embraced it? Nay, take the map of the whole world; open the history of all time, and lay your finger on the spot of earth exhibiting the greatest comparative amount of comfort, of enterprise, of piety, and of every thing that conduces to the exaltation or happiness of man. Can you hesitate? Who is there that will not instantly point to the rocks and hills of New England; whose whole surface was, two hundred years ago, one unbroken forest? Under every earthly disadvantage, with incredible toil, in the midst of appalling dangers, obstructed by the jealousy of the mother country, and at last compelled to encounter her in arms, in two centuries the people, rich in nothing save the principles of the Pilgrims, have turned this wilderness into a fruitful field; and made it the moral garden of the whole world. An intelligent Englishman,* famed for his researches in science, a member of the established Church, and one who by his extensive travels and personal inspection is qualified to form an intelligent judgment, on his return from a recent tour in this country, spoke earnestly of New England, as the spot “where two millions of freemen are enjoying a higher degree of intelligence, morality, and substantial comfort and prosperity, than any other equal number of people on the face of the earth.” To what is this owing? To fairer beginnings? To exemption from dangers and burdens? To more fertile fields, and fairer skies? Alas, no! Never was prosperity achieved under greater hardships. The sunny plains which Sir Walter Raleigh described as a second Paradise, were given to the disciples of the Pope. The regions of eternal spring and summer were given as a field for other principles to show *their* power. As if to render the contrast more striking, there were added mines of gold and silver enough to enrich a world. What are those fields now? God stripped the Pilgrims of everything save their principles and their life; he sent them in the depth of winter into a bleak and desolate land. He surrounded them

* Lyell.

with dangers. At every breath they were made to tremble for their freedom to worship God; and lo, what hath been wrought? To the *principles* of the Pilgrims, under God, New England owes all she is.

The Pilgrims could not foresee these splendid results of their labors. What thoughts came rushing upon their minds as they crowded the deck, and gazed upon the shores of the New World! Weary and worn, many of them enfeebled by sickness—a howling wilderness is before them, and the rough ocean behind. “For the season,” says Bradford, “it was winter; and they that know the winters of that country, know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to violent storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search out unknown coasts.” * * “All things stand for them to look upon with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country being full of thickets presented a wild and savage hue.” The captain of the ship urged them to seek out a place for settlement with the shallop; for he durst not stir with the ship from its first position in Cape Cod harbor, till another safe harbor should be found. Again and again the explorers went forth, and returned without success, after nearly perishing in their open shallop, from storms and cold. The captain reminded them that “victuals consumed apace; and that he must and would keep sufficient for himself and company on their return.” It was rumored by the ship’s company, that if the Pilgrims got not a place in time, they would turn them ashore and leave them. But at length the good hand of the Lord directed them to Plymouth, and after many trials and hardships they were at last, with their effects, on the shore.

A dreary winter is before them. Three had died in Cape Cod harbor. Mrs. Bradford, the wife of the future governor, had fallen overboard and was drowned. Two more died before the landing at Plymouth. Eight died in the month of January; seventeen more in the month of February; thirteen in the month of March. In three months half their company were dead: “the greatest part,” says Bradford, “in the depth of winter; wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition brought upon them.” “Of a hundred, scarce fifty remain; the living scarce able to bury the dead.” “In the time of the greatest distress, in the depth of winter, and in want of all resources, there were not more than six or seven who were able to tend the sick.” But as the spring opened the mortality abated; the sick recovered; and hope and courage once more returned to the suffering Pilgrims.

On the fifth of April, the Mayflower sailed for England; and it is remarkable that after the experience of so dreadful a winter,

not one of the surviving Pilgrims took the opportunity to return to his native land.*

In December of the first year, Edward Winslow wrote to a friend in England, that they had built seven dwelling-houses, and four for the public use of the plantation; and had several others in a state of forwardness!—they had planted twenty acres of Indian corn, and sowed six acres of barley and peas. And now, harvest being gathered, they kept the first New England Thanksgiving,—thus commencing a custom which the sons and daughters of New England, unless they shall prove sadly degenerate, will continue to observe till the end of time.

The cold weather had brought into the harbor an abundance of water-fowl. Deer and wild turkeys were found near the settlement. The governor sent four men with their guns to procure the materials for a feast, that they “might after a special manner rejoice, after they had gathered the fruit of their labors.” “They four, in one day, killed as much fowl, as with a little help beside, served the company almost a week.”

It was on the 9th of November, A. D. 1621, that the friendly Indians of Cape Cod sent the colonists word that a ship had arrived there: and by the description it was concluded that this vessel must be a Frenchman, and probably come on a hostile errand. Not long after, the people of Plymouth looking out from their hill, see the strange sight of a sail making for their harbor. Supposing her an enemy, the Governor, says Winslow, “commanded a great piece to be shot off, to call home such as were at work. Whereupon, every man, yea, boy that could handle a gun, were ready, with full resolution, that if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defence, not fearing them.”

It proves to be the good ship “Fortune,”—small indeed,—of only fifty-five tons—but bringing over thirty-five new settlers; a part of whom were the persons left by the *Speedwell*. She had sailed in the beginning of July, and it was now the 11th of November when she came into the harbor of Plymouth.

On the 13th of December the *Fortune* sails, laden with two hogsheads of beaver and other articles which the colonists had collected; together with “good clap-boards, and sassafras, as full as she can hold;” the fruit of the industry of the colonists in their first season. The whole was estimated at £500; but as the ship drew near to the English coast she was taken by the French, and all was lost.

By this ship, Winslow wrote to his friends who might be about to come over, to use great caution in packing their pro-

* Six more died before the end of November. Most of the survivors were suffered to live to extreme old age.

visions, and not to rely upon supplies from the colony, as the new company already arrived would create a scarcity before the next harvest. "Bring every man a musket or a fowling-piece," said he. "Let your piece be long in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands." "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, and cotton for your lamps."

Before the end of May, 1622, their store of provision was spent; and they had for some time lived on short allowance. The last company had not landed so much as a barrel of bread or meal; and the ship had to be furnished from the stores of the colony for her voyage home. A ship also arrived at the fishing-grounds some hundred and twenty miles distant, and sent several colonists more. These also brought no more provisions than were necessary for their boats' crew on their return.

The colonists were now destitute of bread. The Indians began to cast forth insulting speeches, reminding them of their weakness and threatening their destruction. The colonists erect a fort on the hill, from which a few men may defend the town, while the rest are employed in necessary affairs. And though this took the greatest part of their strength from dressing corn, "yet," said they, "life being continued, we hoped God would raise some means instead for our further preservation." It was now June; harvest was yet at a distance. The people were weakened, and some bloated and swelled for want of suitable provisions. "Strong men," said Winslow, "staggered for want of food." A party was dispatched to the fishing-grounds, who obtained some small supplies from the ships resorting thither. In July, two ships with colonists for Virginia came in. Part of these emigrants were left, while the others were on an exploring expedition; and these committed such depredations on the green corn of the colony, as prepared the way for a scarcity in the coming year. In August two trading ships came, from which they obtained some supplies. With great hazard and toil some further supplies were obtained from the Indians at a distance. These supplies saved the colony.

The spring opened fairly in the next year, and the colonists made such efforts as they supposed would secure them from want. But Providence seemed to frown. From the end of May a severe drought continued till all their crops seemed withered and burnt up. In addition to this, a ship sent to them with supplies, of which they had had notice several months, failed to arrive. Fragments of a wreck were discovered on the coast, which they concluded to be the remains of their expected vessel.

Then every man began to look into his own conscience before

God. A day was set apart for fasting and prayer. The morning of that day was clear and sultry, like many which had preceded it. The exercises of the fast continued eight or nine hours; and ere the people separated the sky was overcast. From that evening there distilled a succession of gentle showers for fourteen days. Their crops revived. They became cheerful with hope. News came of their supply-ship, which having been twice driven back was now prosperously on her way. "And therefore," says Winslow, "another solemn day was set apart, wherein we returned glory and honor and praise, with all thankfulness to God, who had dealt so graciously with us."

In the latter part of August their expected supply-ship, the *Ann*, arrives; bringing, together with supplies, about sixty new colonists. Among these are some of the wives and children whom several of the first adventurers had left behind them in Holland.

"When these passengers see our poor condition," says Bradford, "they are much dismayed, and full of sadness: only our old friends rejoice to see us, and that it is no worse." "The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread, or anything else but a cup of fair spring water."

A few days after came in the ship, the "*Little James*," of forty-four tons, new-built, and designed to remain in the country.

On the 10th of September, 1623, the pinnace is fitted and ready to sail for trade. The *Ann* sails for London laden with what clap-boards, and beaver and other furs, the colonists have procured. "And now," says Bradford, "our harvest comes. Instead of famine we have plenty. The face of things is changed to the joy of our hearts; nor has there been any general want of food among us since to this day."

Thus, through the good providence of God, the colony is established. Amid perils and distresses the foundations are laid. We must now return to England, and trace the further progress of the persecutions, which resulted in driving off the people who laid the foundations of the other early colonies and churches of New England.

XIII.

THE STORM GATHERING IN ENGLAND.

Vacillating and Irritating Policy of James. Sycophantic bearing of the Bishops. Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance. Attempts of James to establish Episcopacy in Scotland. Assembly of Perth. Change in the King's Theology. Original Calvinism of the English Church. Lambeth Articles. Book of Sports. Perfidy of James.

THE wrongs of the Puritans at length aroused the sympathies of the nation. Their principles and arguments had awakened the people to some just perception of their rights ; and from this time the spirit of freedom in the House of Commons had become too daring to be overawed, and too strong to be crushed. It is questionable whether even the resolute Henry VIII., or the imperious Elizabeth, could have checked the rising spirit of liberty. Elizabeth, however, always had sagacity to discern when it was necessary to yield, and the good policy to yield in such time, that instead of allowing her subjects to learn their strength by driving her from her positions, she always made her concessions appear to be the fruit of her goodness. In this manner her very concessions increased her popularity and augmented her real power. Her people were not disposed to inquire concerning their rights, while they were rather inclined to seek how they should show their gratitude, and exhibit further their confidence in so beneficent a sovereign. Thus Elizabeth continued an absolute despot, and yet a most popular sovereign to her life's end.

James never knew when to yield, or how to do it with grace. He was self-conceited and obstinate enough, but he had neither courage, vigor, magnanimity, nor any true sagacity. Without necessity, he was for ever fond of declaring on all occasions his own divine and indefeasible prerogatives as an absolute king. The assertion of these prerogatives without occasion, induced people to examine their nature and foundation ; and the perpetual efforts of James to break down his people's liberties, without doing anything effectual, not only taught his people their power, but goaded them up to desperation. This craving desire to play

the despot, these high notions of the regal prerogatives, without courage or energy to meet the resistance which these irritating claims and these petty acts of tyranny awakened, drove James into a perpetual course of dissimulation. "His reign," says Burnet, "was a constant course of mean practices." And while steering amid these breakers,—and dodging, turning, twisting and lying, to effect his purposes, and to escape from difficulties which an upright and magnanimous prince would never have encountered,—his perceptions of moral obligation were so distorted, that he prided himself on these acts of dishonesty and falsehood, as though he had now become a proficient in the art and mystery of "Kingcraft;" as though no truth, nor honesty, nor honor were requisite in one who sits upon a throne!

The bishops were ever ready to maintain his royal prerogatives in their fullest extent. On all occasions they approached him with flatteries; and no flattery ever seemed fulsome to King James. *Passive obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, was their constant doctrine; and the king in return was ever ready to lend himself to the furtherance of their views. The Puritans dared to talk of *rights*, and therefore the king hated them. He thought them weak, and therefore he ventured to oppress them.

James had penetration enough to discern the inevitable tendencies of the antagonist principles of High Churchism and Puritanism. The friends of freedom saw it too; and from this moment the principles which had been antagonists in religion, began to form the elementary basis of two great political parties. The bishops, the king, the admirers of arbitrary authority, and the despisers of popular rights, were ranged on one side; on the other side the friends of popular freedom, of every name, and however differing in religious preferences, rallied round the Puritans. Here were planted the germs of those commotions which in a few years overturned the throne; and as the Hierarchy, under the name of The Church, joined their destinies to the destinies of arbitrary power, when the king fell, the hierarchy fell with him. This is an outline of the affairs which are now to come under review.

When James summoned his first Parliament in 1604, he took it upon himself to direct his people what sort of representatives they should elect; and threatened, that if any other sort were elected, and should take upon themselves the office, he would fine or imprison them. "He threatened to fine and disfranchise those corporations that did not choose to his mind."* When the Commons assembled, he interfered with their examination of elections. He required a conference between the House and his judges, which, he said, he "commanded as an absolute king."†

* Hume.

† Ibid.

"He added, that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and he hoped they would not turn them against him." The Commons yielded; but with murmurings of "*Rights*," "not privileges;"—*RIGHTS* left them by their ancestors, and which they were bound to transmit to their posterity:—not *privileges* dependent on the grant and tolerance of an absolute king.

In ancient times, the Parliament had granted the crown duties of *tonnage* and *poundage* on various commodities, and for limited times; and as the grant expired from time to time, it had been by act of Parliament renewed. Henry V., and the sovereigns succeeding him, had had these revenues conferred upon them for life. King James, however, thought them the natural dues of his prerogative; and by virtue of the same, took it upon him to alter the rates, and to establish higher impositions. The Parliament saw the mischief of the principle; the same reasons, they declared, might extend "even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the kingdom, and the subjects' right of property in their land and goods." The king forbade them to touch his prerogative: but they passed a bill abolishing these impositions, which bill was, however, rejected by the House of Lords.

The Commons now took hold of ecclesiastical oppressions. Bold speeches were made concerning the proceedings of the bishops' courts; the oppressive subscriptions required; the oath *ex officio*; and the High Commission. The king summoned both Houses to Whitehall, and told them that "the power of kings was like the Divine power; that as God can create and destroy, so kings can give life and death; judge all, and be judged by none;" * * "that as it was blasphemy to dispute what God might do, so it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a king might do." * * "He commanded them, therefore, not to meddle with the main points in his government, which would be to lessen his craft, who had been thirty years at his trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years in England."*

The Parliament, nothing terrified, went on asserting their rights. On the 24th of May, 1610, twenty-three of the lower house presented a remonstrance, declaring that "They do hold it their undoubted right to examine into the grievances of the subject, and to inquire into their own rights and properties, as well as his majesty's prerogative." Thus was an issue made between the Parliament and king, which was not to be determined till the nation was whelmed in blood.

In foreign affairs James was always timid and inefficient. An opportunity to exhibit himself as a royal theologian, however, was enough to rouse his utmost energies. "A professor of divin-

* Neale.

ity, named Vorstius, a disciple of Arminius, had been called to the university of Leyden. James having read a work of Vorstius, declared the writer to be an arch-heretic, a pest, a monster of blasphemies; and ordered the book to be burnt publicly in St. Paul's churchyard and at both universities. He wrote to the States of Holland thus: As God hath honored us with the title of *Defender of the Faith*, so (if you incline to retain Vorstius any longer) we shall be obliged not only to separate and cut ourselves off from such false and heretical Churches, but likewise to call upon all the rest of the reformed Churches to enter upon the same common consultation, how we may best extinguish and send back to hell these cursed" [viz. Arminian] "heresies that have newly broke forth."* "As to burning Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own Christian wisdom, but told them that surely never heretic better deserved the flames."† The States of Holland were not in the practice of burning men for heresy; though such was the weight and perseverance of the King's diplomacy, that he gained the royal victory of causing Vorstius to be deprived of his chair, and to be banished from the Dutch dominions. In the course of that diplomacy James denounced Arminius as an enemy of God; and another who had written against the Saints' perseverance, the king declared "worthy of the fire." We shall remember this when we come to his league with Arminianism and Popery, for putting down the Puritans. James published his manifesto of what he had done in the affair of Vorstius, in several languages.

In the same year the king tried again his theological powers in conjunction with some of his bishops, in a disputation with two of his own subjects, who had embraced Arian sentiments: the issue was that one of his opponents was by the king's writ taken to Smithfield and burnt to ashes.

In the midst of all this zeal for religious truth, while the Puritans were imprisoned, pursued, hunted, plundered, and hindered in their efforts to leave the kingdom; and while the king was exercising his functions as Defender of the Faith in Holland, and burning heretics in his own dominions,—the court was a scene of indolence, luxury, amours, lasciviousness and debauchery. The king lavished his fortunes upon worthless favorites, and was obliged to have recourse to arbitrary and illegal methods of raising money by his prerogatives. He invented a new order of knights baronets, and sold the honor for £1000 a patent. He obliged such as were worth £40 a year to compound for not taking the honors of knighthood. He sold patents of nobility at £10,000 for a baron, £15,000 for a viscount, £20,000 for an earl. The business of fining in the Star Chamber was driven forward

* Neale.

† Hume.

with vigor. But all these expedients came short of his necessities, and he was forced again to call a Parliament. The Parliament met in April, 1614, and immediately entered upon a consideration and redress of grievances. The king in anger dissolved them before they had passed one act, and threw the members who had been most forward against his measures into prison. "Full of his prerogative," says Neale, "he apprehended he could convince his subjects of it; and for this purpose turned preacher in the Star Chamber; and took his text from Ps. 72, 1: 'Give the king thy judgments, O God.' After dividing and subdividing, and giving the literal and mystical sense of the text, he applied it to the judges and courts of judicature; telling them that 'The king sitting in the throne of God, all judgments centre in him: and therefore, for inferior courts to determine difficult questions without consulting him, is to encroach upon his prerogative, and to limit his power; which it is not lawful for the tongue of a lawyer nor any subject to dispute. As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do (says he), so it is presumption and high contempt to dispute what kings can do or say: it is to take away that mystical reverence that belongs to them who sit in the throne of God:' then addressing the auditory, he advised them not to meddle with the king's prerogative. 'Plead not upon Puritanic principles, which make all things popular,' said he, 'but keep within the ancient limits.' He then turned his speech against the non-conformists, both Puritans and Papists; and concluded with exhorting the judges to countenance the clergy against them both; adding, 'God and the king will reward your zeal.'"

It was now A. D. 1617, just about the time that the Pilgrims in Holland were beginning to agitate the question of removing to America, when King James set himself about the work of establishing Episcopacy in Scotland. Ever since the Reformation, the Scotsmen had looked with more than suspicion upon anything that resembled an order of Bishops. At the instance of King James, they had been engaged to admit them as perpetual presidents or moderators in their ecclesiastical synods, but with an explicit disavowal of all spiritual jurisdiction, and of their holding any power over other ministers. James intended this as the beginning of a gradual introduction of Episcopacy. His next step was to introduce the ceremonies of the Church of England, with the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Ascension. An assembly had been summoned at Aberdeen. The king, to forward his own purposes, prorogued it to the following year. "Some of the clergy, disavowing his ecclesiastical supremacy, met at the time first appointed, notwithstanding his prohibition. He threw them into prison. Such of

them as submitted and acknowledged their error, were pardoned. The rest were condemned as guilty of high treason. The king gave them their lives, but banished them from the kingdom.”*

The king now, on the sole strength of his prerogative, ventured to set up a Court of High Commission in Scotland, in imitation of that of England. The bishops and a few of the clergy who had been summoned, acknowledged the authority of this court, and it proceeded immediately to business, as if its authority had been grounded on the full consent of the whole legislature.†

James now made a royal progress into Scotland for accomplishing his design. Pictures and statues of the Twelve Apostles were carried up and set in the chapel of Edinburgh. The king told the Scots' assembly and the parliament, “That it was a power innate; a princely special prerogative which Christian kings have, to order and dispose external things in the outward polity of the Church; or as “we [the king] with our bishops shall think fit.” “And, sirs,” said he, “for your approval or disapproval, deceive not yourselves; I will not have my reason opposed.”‡ Some ministers protesting against these things, were suspended, deprived, and banished.

The next year, A. D. 1618, an assembly (or rather convention), consisting of some noblemen and burgesses, “chosen on purpose to bear down the ministers” of the Gospel, met at Perth; and passed several articles establishing sundry of the ceremonials and festivals of the Church of England. The king caused them to be proclaimed in the market-place, and ordered them to be published from the pulpits. The Scottish ministers refused. In 1621, an attempt was made to ratify in Parliament, the articles of the Assembly of Perth. The Scottish ministers were ready with their protestation, and poured into Edinburgh in great numbers to support it. The king's commissioners, by advice of the bishops, issued a proclamation commanding all ministers to depart out of Edinburgh in twenty-four hours, except the settled ministers of the city, and such as have a license from the bishop. The ministers obeyed, leaving behind them a solemn protestation against the articles of Perth, and affirming the illegality of the assembly by which they were passed. The Scots' blood was up, and King James durst proceed no further. He left the work of completing his design of imposing episcopacy upon the Scots, to his unhappy son; who, in attempting to carry out the plan, set the kingdom in a flame, which was not quenched till he had lost both kingdom and life.

The English Parliament was now roused by the king's entrenchment upon their liberties, as well as by several other things ap-

* Hume.

† Ibid.

‡ Neale.

parent in his general policy, such as his supineness in neglecting to defend his son-in-law the Elector Palatine : and his evident willingness to betray the Protestant cause and to entail a Popish sovereign on England, in his concessions to promote the marriage of his son Charles with a princess of Spain. The Commons began to frame a remonstrance to be laid before the king. The king wrote to the Speaker a sharp rebuke, forbidding the Commons to meddle with anything that regarded his government ; and gave them intimations that a prison awaited such as should venture to disobey his commands. " He plainly told them that he thought himself fully entitled to punish every misdemeanor in Parliament, as well during its sitting as after its dissolution ; and that he intended thenceforward to chastise every man whose insolent behavior should give occasion of offence."*

The Commons were inflamed, not terrified. They drew up a new remonstrance, asserting their rights, and sent a committee of twelve to carry it to the king. The king heard of their approach, and ordered twelve chairs to be brought, " for there were so many kings a coming." He told them that what they called *rights*, they had rather, by royal toleration, than by inheritance ; that they were derived and held from " the *grace* and *permission*" of the king's ancestors and of himself.

The Commons voted, " That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, *are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England.*"† The king sent for the Journals of the House of Commons. With his own hand he tore this protestation from the book, and dissolved the Parliament. The leading members of the House, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Robert Phillips, were committed to the tower ; Selden, Prynne, and Mallory, to other prisons. Others were ordered abroad on the king's business, into an honorable banishment ; the king claiming the prerogative of employing in his affairs any man, at any time, and anywhere.

We begin here to see the spirit, and to meet with the names of men, who, in the next reign, jeopardized their lives in defence of the national liberties.

We come now to the remarkable change which came over the king's theology : a change which so largely influenced his policy and the affairs of the nation.

Calvin had been held in the highest repute by all the Reformers of England. By appointment of the Convocation, *Calvin's Institutes* were made the text-book of theology in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Not only are the Articles of the English Church thoroughly Calvinistic, but the celebrated *Lambeth Articles* drawn up A. D. 1595, by Archbishop Whit-

* Hume.

† Ibid.

gift, and carrying the dogmas concerning *predestination* to an extreme beyond Calvin, were strictly enjoined upon students, who were forbidden to allow their judgments to vary from the doctrine of these Articles. The occasion of these Articles was as follows: A Mr. Barret had ventured to assail Calvin's doctrine concerning Predestination and Perseverance. He was summoned before the Chancellor, and heads of the University, and obliged to retract in St. Mary's Church. Nor did this satisfy the heads of the University; but they demanded that the names of Peter Martyr, Calvin, Beza and Zanchius, which this man had reproached, should receive some further honorable *amende*. Both parties appealed to the Archbishop, and the result was the establishment of the celebrated Lambeth Articles, as the authoritative exposition of the sense of the Church of England upon these points. The following are the Articles:*

1. "God hath from eternity predestinated certain persons to life, and hath reprobated certain persons unto death."

2. "The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith or perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the persons predestinated; but the alone will of God's good pleasure."

3. "The predestinati are a pre-determined and certain number which can neither be lessened nor increased."

4. "Such as are not predestinated to salvation shall inevitably be condemned on account of their sins."

5. "The true, lively, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not utterly fail, doth not vanish away in the elect, either finally or totally."

6. "A true believer, that is, one who is endowed with justifying faith, is certified by the full assurance of faith that his sins are forgiven, and that he shall be everlastingly saved by Christ."

7. "Saving grace is not allowed, is not imparted, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved if they will."

8. "No man is able to come to Christ, unless it be given him; and unless the Father draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to his Son."

9. "It is not in the will or power of every man to be saved."

It is now well understood that the body of the Episcopal clergy, both in England and the United States, hold the Arminian sentiments on these points; while, nevertheless, this authoritative and ultra-Calvinistic interpretation of the *sense of the Church* in the 17th of her Articles, has never, so far as I can learn, been either reversed or annulled. Nor, if the *Church* should reverse this authoritative interpretation, am I at all able to understand how she is authorized to interpret her Articles both

* Buck's Theological Dictionary.

ways. The sentiments of those who framed these Articles were thoroughly Calvinistic. The present prevalent belief of the Episcopal Church on these points is rather a sorry comment upon the boasted efficacy of her "Standards."*

King James had loaded the name not only of Vorstius but of Arminius himself with the bitterest epithets he could invent. When, upon the fierce disputes against Arminianism in Holland, the *Synod of Dort* was called in 1618, King James, full of zeal against the Arminian doctrines, sent as his delegates to that synod, Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Landaff, Dr. Hall, Dean of Worcester, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. The English divines concurred in the severe condemnation of Arminianism by the Synod of Dort. Bishop Hall, some years afterwards, said, I, shall live and die in the suffrage of that Synod of Dort; and I do confidently avow that those other opinions" [of Arminians] "cannot stand with the doctrine of the Church of England." Bishop Davenant replied in these words: "I know that no man can embrace Arminianism, * * * but he must desert the Articles agreed upon by the Church of England."

Whether such were the natural affinities of the two schemes, of theology or not, such was the *fact* which James was not backward to discover; that those who scrupled the ceremonies and habits of the Church, were uniformly attached to the Calvinistic doctrine; while the Arminians in sentiment were not only disposed to receive the ceremonies, but to favor the prerogatives claimed both by the Church and the king. This was inducement enough for James to change his theology. He advanced the most zealous Arminians to bishoprics; among whom was the famous LAUD. Whoever stood by the laws and the constitution in opposition to his arbitrary power, was in James' view a Puritan in state. Every Calvinist was, in his esteem, a doctrinal Puritan. From this time "the fashionable doctrines at court were such as the king had condemned at the Synod of Dort, and which, in the opinion of the old English clergy, were subversive of the Reformation."

Still another element now began to mingle in the prevailing theology. The tenets, which are now known by the name of Oxford Tractarianism or Puseyism, had now begun to prevail; as has already been shown in our view of the great work of the "Judicious Hooker." Hooker lived nearer the old Reformers, and, therefore, the Popery in his scheme was very unnaturally and discordantly mingled with Calvinism: a compound which was

* The sarcastic saying of the great Lord Chatham was not without foundation: "We have," said he, "Calvinistic Articles, a Popish Liturgy, and an Arminian Clergy."

sure not to endure very long: and in spite of some popish elements, there are traits and passages in Hooker's theology upon which Evangelical Christians of all denominations still look with admiration. But now, under the change of King James' theological politics, the prevalent doctrine in the Church of England, was fast becoming that compound of Arminianism and Popery, now known as Puseyism.

The divines of this stamp, conscious that their Arminian sentiments were inconsistent with the received sense of the 39 Articles, "and being afraid of the censures of Parliament, took shelter under the Royal Prerogative; and went into all the slavish measures of the court, in order to secure the royal favor." The Papists, hoping nothing from Parliament, joined with the court divines to support the dispensing power, and unlimited prerogatives of the king. The king lavished his favors upon Arminians and Papists, who upheld his prerogatives; and bestowed his frowns upon the Puritans, both nonconformist, doctrinal, and political, who all united in the maintenance of popular rights against the assumptions of the crown.

The lines of party were now distinctly drawn. "All," says Neale, "who opposed the king's arbitrary measures, were called at court Puritans; and those who stood by the crown in opposition to the Parliament, went by the names of Papists and Arminians."

By the king's command the judges were directed to discharge all prisoners for Church recusancy, or for dispersing popish books, or for saying Mass. Upon this, great numbers of priests flocked into England; "Mass was celebrated openly over the realm."* This allowance was not on the principle of *toleration*, but as a matter of *policy*, for strengthening the royal prerogatives; and for building up a party against the Puritanic principles. Thus Popery and Prelacy were made to combine their energies; and the Puritans were persecuted with augmented vigor. "The Puritans," says Neale, "retired to the plantations in America, and Popery came in like an armed man."

A preacher (*Mr. Knight*), in a sermon before the University of Oxford, ventured to assert the right of the people to resist the sovereign when it should be the only way of securing their lives, their property, or the rights of conscience. He was arraigned as a criminal. Paræus' Commentary, which he quoted as authority, was publicly burned at Oxford and at London. The University of Oxford, in full convocation, passed a decree that it was not lawful for a subject to appear offensively in arms against the king on the score of religion, or on any other account. All graduates of the University were required to subscribe that

* Neale.

decree; and to take an oath that they would ever continue of the same opinion. Thus it was attempted to bind all men of learning in the nation, under the solemnities of an oath, always to maintain the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.

The king bethought himself of another device to check the growth of Puritanism; and that was by putting down the observance of the Lord's day as a Holy Sabbath. "The old Puritans," says Neale, "were strict observers of the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's day; spending the whole of it in acts of public and private devotion and charity." * * "It was the distinguishing mark of a Puritan in these times, to see him going to church twice a day, with his Bible under his arm; and while others were at plays or interludes, at revels, or walking in the fields, or at the diversions of bowling, fencing, &c., * * on the evening of the Sabbath, these with their families were employed in reading the Scriptures, singing psalms, catechising the children," &c. As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a Dr. Bound had published a book maintaining the obligation to keep the Lord's day as a Sabbath. "This book had a wonderful spread, and wrought a mighty reformation among the people; so that the Lord's day, which used to be profaned by interludes, May games, morrice dances, and other sports and recreations," began to be religiously observed. The Puritans all embraced this doctrine. "But the governing clergy exclaimed against it as a restraint of Christian liberty; as putting an unequal lustre upon Sunday, and tending to eclipse the authority of the Church in appointing other festivals."* A Mr. Rogers, author of a Commentary on the 39 Articles, writes in his Preface, "That it was the comfort of his soul, and would be to his dying day, that he had been the man and the means, that the Sabbatarian errors were brought to the light and knowledge of the state."† "Archbishop Whitgift called in all copies of Dr. Bound's book, and forbade it to be re-printed. The Lord Chief Justice Popham did the same; both of them declaring that the Sabbath doctrine agreed neither with our Church, nor with the laws and orders of this kingdom."‡ *Heylin* complains that the Puritans, by raising the Sabbath, took occasion to depress the festivals; and introduced by little and little a general neglect of the weekly fasts, the holy time of Lent, and the ember days.§ "Sad indeed!" exclaimed Neale.

To save people from the infection of Puritanism, but under color of preserving people from running into Popery through the austerity of the reformed religion, James, on the 24th of May, 1618, published his Book of Sports, in which he signified, "That for his good people's recreation, his majesty's pleasure was

* Neale.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

that they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any such harmless recreations ; such as dancing, either of men or women ; archery for men, leaping or vaulting, or any such harmless recreations ; nor having of May poles, or other sports therewith, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of divine service." * * *

Only "no recusant [Papist] was to have the benefit of this declaration ; nor such as were not present at the whole divine service ; nor such as did not keep their own parish churches ; i. e. the Puritans."* Though this was aimed at the Puritans, it grieved all sober Protestants throughout the land. Archbishop Abbot absolutely forbade it to be read in the church where he was. The principles of Divine truth had taken too deep a hold upon the conscience of the nation to be rooted out by the mandate of an absolute king. The nation was now alarmed lest the faithless king should prepare the way for bringing them once more under the dominion of Popery. The Elector Palatine, who had married Elizabeth, the daughter of James—from whom the present race of English sovereigns is descended—was driven from his dominions, and had to take refuge in Holland. The whole Protestant world murmured at James' supineness, both as a father and a Protestant. The Commons were at the same time indignant at this, and alarmed at the engagements into which they suspected James to be at that time entering with the king of Spain for the marriage of his son Charles with the Spanish Infanta. James had indeed entered into a treaty, in which he had promised either to annul all laws against Popery, or to prevent their execution. He had provided for the admission of popish priests and a popish bishop with the Infanta ; for the erection of a popish chapel with all the paraphernalia of popish worship. He had further entered into engagements, to which Charles his son had sworn, which in the natural course of things would in due time place a line of popish sovereigns upon the throne. Notwithstanding these engagements, which were then secret, James had assured the Parliament "on the word of a Christian king," that the Spanish match was—"res integra"—an affair entirely open and unfinished, in which he stood "not bound nor either way engaged, but remained free to follow what should be best advised." "It has been talked of my remissness," said he, "and a suspicion of a toleration" [of Popery] "but as God shall judge me, I never thought or meant, nor ever in word expressed anything that savored of it." To the remonstrance of Parliament, James answered, "I wish it may be written in marble, and remain to posterity as a mark upon me when I shall swerve from my religion ; for he that dissembles before God is

* Neale.

not to be trusted with men; I protest before God that my heart hath bled when I have heard of the increase of Popery. * *

I will order the laws to be put in execution against popish recusants, as they were before these treaties; for the laws are still in being, and were never dispensed with by me; God is my judge that they never were so intended by me." The king did break off the Spanish match; but he forthwith entered into a treaty, with similar stipulations in favor of Popery, for the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. of France. "Upon this occasion, the Archbishop of Ambrun was sent into England, who told the king that the best way to accomplish his wishes was to grant a full toleration to the Catholics. The king replied, that he intended it; and was willing to have an assembly of divines to compromise the difference between Protestants and Papists: and promised to send a letter to the pope to bring him into the project. In this letter, the king styled the pope, "Christ's Vicar, and Head of the Church universal; and assured him that he would declare himself a Catholic as soon as he could provide against the inconveniences of such a declaration."* The treaty was made. Ambrun was permitted to administer confirmation to thousands of Catholics at the door of the French Ambassador's house.

In the midst of these transactions, on the 27th of March, 1625, James was summoned away by death. These things were transpiring during the years in which the colony at Plymouth was struggling for life. From the midst of these scenes the new accessions to that colony fled from their native land to the wilderness of New England. The germs of the events in the next reign were now planted. A conflict was at hand; it could not but come; a conflict between the principles of Church Polity as laid down by the "Judicious Hooker;" united with a theology half Popish and half Arminian on the one side; and the doctrine and principles of Puritanism on the other; a conflict of the Reformation with essential Popery; of the principles of freedom with the principles of despotism.

* Neale.

XIV.

REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

Reaching for a union of Churchmen and Papists. Charles—his High-Church and High-Prerogative notions. Strafford. Laud. Huguenots of Rochelle. Book of the King's Chaplain. King and Commons appeal to the people. Illegal exactions. The Church Clergy side with tyranny. Overthrow of the Constitution. Cruelties of Laud.

THE reformers and the Homilies of the Church of England had declared concerning the Church of Rome, that for "nine hundred and odd years, * * *the state thereof*" was "*so far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more.*"* The religion of Rome, the Homilies declared to be the "*ungodly and counterfeit religion*;"† and the Roman Church to be "*The idolatrous Church*;" * * *a foul, filthy old withered harlot; the foulest and filthiest that ever was seen.*"‡ The new theologians, among whom Laud was most conspicuous, were now fond of acknowledging the Church of Rome, not simply as a true Church, a beloved sister, but as a MOTHER! The English reformers had treated the reformed Churches on the continent as true Churches; had held friendly correspondence with them, and had received their ministers as authorized and ordained ministers of the Church of Christ. Laud and his compeers handed over all out of the English or the Papal Church, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. "Laud," says Neale, "thought there was no salvation for Protestants out of the Church of England." His aim, and the aim of those of like sentiments, was now to make it appear, that there was, in the essentials of faith, no difference between the Church of England and that of Rome; and to seek for a union of Churchmen and Papists. Could the true Protestants in the nation submit to this? Could the friends of freedom tamely endure the yoke of despotism that was sought to be fastened on their necks? The contest of principle had already begun. The weak and foolish attempts of James to play the despot had roused the yeomanry of the nation to a spirit of resistance, against which such attempts could be safe no longer.

* 2. Homily for Whitsunday.

† 3. Homily on Good Works.

‡ Ibid.

At this juncture of affairs, Charles I. came to the throne on the 27th of March, 1625, a little more than four years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

In his own family Charles I. was a most amiable man. He was possessed of ordinary good sense; of more learning than is usual in a prince; he was a writer of no mean style or capacity for the day. Formal and stately in his manners, he was not, perhaps, more so than suited the notions of princely dignity at the time. His temper seems to have been mild and beneficent. Had he lived a century earlier, before the people had begun to understand their rights, or a century later, when they had taught their kings to respect them, Charles I. would probably have been as much beloved as any sovereign that ever sat on the English throne. Few of those sovereigns have maintained so good a private character, or have been blessed with so beneficent a disposition. "But the high idea of his own authority which he imbibed," says Hume, "made him incapable of giving way to the spirit of liberty which began to prevail among his subjects." These high notions of the regal prerogatives, Charles had learned from his father. James had commended to him the great work of "The Judicious Hooker," "as worthy of his study, even next unto the Bible;" and henceforth the support of High Church principles and regal prerogatives, was with Charles not only a matter of divine right, but of conscientious duty. When these despotic principles were about to lead him to the scaffold, Charles in his turn enjoined it upon his sons, Charles II., and James II., to "study the great work of the Judicious Hooker, even next unto the Bible." They did so, and followed it out to its natural results of despotism and popery, till Charles II. died a papist, and James II., from a staunch Churchman of the Puseyistic stamp, became a bigoted papist, and from the "Judicious Hooker" his native tyranny received that conscience and boldness, which ended in driving this last of the Stuarts from the throne.*

*James himself declares that reading Heylin and "The Preface to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," "confirmed him in the opinion" "that those who changed the English religion were not of God." On the principles of English prelacy, as laid down by Hooker, he could not see why the Church of England should separate from Rome. "Submission," says James II., "*is necessary to the peace of the Church; and when every man will expound the Scriptures, this makes way to all sects who pretend to build upon it*"—(one might think that on this point the Bishop of Connecticut had been to school to King James II.; for this is his precise objection in his recent charge). "It is plain," continues James II., "that the Church of England does not pretend to infallibility; yet she acted as if she did; for ever since the Reformation she has persecuted those who differed from her, dissenters as well as papists, more generally than was known. And he could not see why dissenters might not separate from the Church of England, as well as she had done from the Church of Rome.—(Bishop Burnet, *Hist. of his own Life and Times.*) Bishop Burnet says he had this account of James II.'s change of religion from James himself. "All due care was taken," James says, "to form him to a strict adherence to the Church of England; among other things much was said of the AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH,

The chief advisers and instruments in all the encroachments of Charles I. upon the liberties of his people, were THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, AND LAUD, who succeeded to the supreme management of ecclesiastical affairs upon the sequestration of Archbishop Abbot, in 1627; and upon the death of that prelate, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.

Thomas Wentworth had signalized himself by his efforts against the royal prerogatives. Charles understood his character, and bought him up with office and a patent of nobility. From this time, fidelity to his master was his controlling principle. He regarded no rights, no constitutions, but bent all his energies to the support and enlargement of the royal prerogatives.

The character of LAUD appears to have been a combination of superstition, bigotry, intolerance, and ambition. Hume draws its outlines in the following words: "With unceasing industry, he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character. His zeal was unrelenting * * * * in imposing by rigorous measures his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate Puritans who had profanely dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration, * * * * all his enemies were imagined by him the declared enemies of loyalty and true piety; and every exercise of his anger, by that means, became in his eyes a merit and a virtue. This was the man who had acquired so great an ascendant over Charles; and who led him by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved fatal to himself, and to his kingdom."

There might still have remained some bulwark in the laws; but the Lord *Chief Justice Finch* was fond of declaring "that a requisition of the Council or Star-Chamber should always be good enough law for him." The judges held their offices at the pleasure of the crown: and it was the practice of Laud to send for their opinions beforehand; and both he and the Star-Chamber used often to remind the judges, that if they should not do his majesty's business to his satisfaction, a removal from office

and of the TRADITIONS from the *Apostles* IN SUPPORT OF EPISCOPACY; so that when he came to observe that *there was more reason to submit to the Catholic Church than to any one particular Church, and that OTHER TRADITIONS might be taken on her word, AS WELL AS EPISCOPACY* was received among us, *he thought the step was not great, but that it was very reasonable to go over to Rome*; and Dr. Seward having taught him to believe a REAL but *inconceivable PRESENCE OF Christ* in the sacrament, he thought *this went more than half way to TRANSUBSTANTIATION*." Here we have the process natural as life, and entirely logical. Can we wonder that the Puseyites are going over to Rome? Is there any logical ground short of that, on which High Churchmen can rest? To suppose that the incipient principles of this scheme will stop at any given limit short of essential Popery, is as contradictory to reason as it is to all the lessons of past history. There is a natural and inevitable logic, by which the masses will, in process of time, push out first principles to their legitimate conclusions. It is impossible that High Church Episcopacy, or Puseyism, should finally rest anywhere short of essential Popery.

was the least they had to apprehend. Whatever soundness there might be in the decisions of the courts on other subjects, there was none in any matter of question between the royal prerogatives, the edicts of the Star-Chamber, and the rights and liberties of the people.

The first parliament of Charles "was almost entirely governed," says Hume, "by a set of men of the most uncommon capacity, and the largest views." Among them, were Sir Edward Coke, Digges, Elliot, Wentworth (afterwards created Earl of Strafford), *Selden* and *Pym*; names afterwards so conspicuous in the final struggle for freedom.

These men had stood against the encroachments of James. They saw with alarm the dangerous assumptions of the crown: and they determined to seize upon the first occasion, when the king should need supplies, to reduce his enormous prerogatives.

The nation had grown into a horror of Popery; yet the Roman titular Bishop of Chalcedon appeared in his pontifical robes in Lancashire, and appointed a bishop, vicar general, and archdeacons all over England. The king made fair promises, directly opposed to his marriage treaty with France; issued his proclamation against popish recusants; and then immediately arrested, by his special warrants, the course of the laws against Popery.

The government of France was now engaged in a series of massacres for exterminating the Huguenots from the kingdom. The Huguenots had gathered and stood for their lives in the town of Rochelle. The Catholics were besieging the town, but being destitute of shipping to block up the harbor, the French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, applied to Charles for the loan of some ships. The pretext to the seamen was, that they were to be employed against the Genoese, who, being allies of Spain, were regarded with dislike by France and England both. The fleet arrived on the coast of France, when the sailors learned that they were to fight against their Protestant brethren, the Huguenots of Rochelle! The sailors were enraged. They drew up a remonstrance to their commander, signing all their names in a circle that none might be singled out as ringleaders, and declared that they would sooner be thrown overboard, or be hanged at the top of the masts, than fight against their Protestant brethren. This remonstrance they laid under the admiral's prayer-book. It was in vain that the admiral and the French officers endeavored to move the seamen from their determination. The whole squadron sailed for the Downs. Deception was now added to authority; and the usual terrors employed to overawe the mutineers. The seamen were assured that France had made peace with the Huguenots; and were persuaded to sail once more. King Charles sent his warrant to the admiral: "We command you," said he,

"to consign your own ship immediately into the hands of the French admiral, with all her equipage, artillery, &c., and require the other seven to put themselves into the service of our dear brother, the French king; and in case of backwardness or refusal, we command you to use all forcible means, even to their sinking." Arrived once more at Dieppe, the sailors discovered the deception. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of the other ships deserted. "One gunner alone," says Hume, "preferred duty to his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterward killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle." The French manned the ships with sailors of their own religion; blocked up the harbor; destroyed the little fleet of the Rochellers; cut off their communication with their Protestant friends by sea; reduced them to a dreadful famine; took the last bulwark of the Protestant interest in France; and overwhelmed its inhabitants in butchery and blood. Great was the indignation of the Protestant people of England; and long and bitterly was this transaction remembered against their king.

One of the king's chaplains (Mr. Montague) published a book in which, as well as in other writings of his, he maintained "that the Church of Rome is, and ever was, a true Church; and had ever remained firm upon the same foundation of sacraments and doctrines instituted by God; that the doctrinal faith of Rome and of England is the same; that images are lawful for the instruction of the ignorant, and for exciting devotion; that saints are to be invoked in prayer, as having patronage and custody and power over certain persons and countries."

The Commons cited the author to their bar; a proceeding not uncommon in those days, however strange it appears now, when men are held answerable for their deeds, not to the legislature, but to the courts; and are liable to be deprived of their property or freedom, not by the mere *votes* of a legislature, but only after *trial* and *sentence* according to law.*

The Commons having cited Montague to their bar, LAUD defended his doctrines, and asserted the prerogatives of the ecclesiastical courts. The king expressed his displeasure with the Commons, and dissolved the Parliament.

As this was before Parliament had voted any supplies, Charles endeavored to supply his want by compulsory loans. But this did not relieve his necessities, while it greatly increased the rising discontent of the people. Forced to call another Parliament, he

* This arbitrary manner of proceeding seems to have been not uncommon, at least down to the time when the Colonial Assembly of Massachusetts *voted* that James Franklin (brother of Benjamin Franklin) "should no longer print the newspaper called the New England Courant."—*Franklin's Life*.

named the popular leaders of the last Parliament as sheriffs of counties, in order to disqualify them for holding seats in the Parliament. The people saw this policy; and Parliament, when they met, entered upon a redress of grievances with increased resolution. They impeached the king's favorite minister, the Duke of Buckingham. The king sent them his commands not to meddle with his servant Buckingham; but to finish in a few days the bill for his supplies, and to increase the amount, or they must not expect to sit any longer. If they should fail in this, he threatened to try other counsels.

The Commons proceeded in their own course. By the king's command, two leading members, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliott, were thrown into prison. The Commons refused to proceed to any other business till this breach of their privileges should be redressed. The king yielded; but the effect of all this was greatly to exasperate the Parliament, and to expose to the nation, the tyranny, indiscretion and irresolute character of the king.

The Commons now entered upon the favor shown to Popery. They complained that the laws were dishonored, the king's promises violated, popish doctrines honored and defended, and Papists exalted to stations of honor and authority around the king. Charles made known his determination to cut all this short by a dissolution of Parliament. The peers interceded; reminded him that the unfinished business, and the state of the nation, demanded that Parliament should sit a little longer. "Not a moment longer," cried the king, and dissolved the Parliament.

The Commons foreseeing this, had taken care to finish and disperse their remonstrance, in justification of their conduct to the people. The king likewise published his declaration, giving the reasons of his dissolving the Parliament before they had had time to conclude any one act. Thus were the king and Parliament at issue on the great questions of popular rights, in an appeal to the great inquest of the nation, THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE. Little did Charles dream of the virtual admission contained in that appeal. Little did he understand its tendencies, or anticipate its results. The *people* were now called upon to *investigate for themselves* the great question of rights; and to judge between the Parliament and the king! Who should carry into execution the award of the sovereign people? It could not be done as with us, peaceably at the ballot-box: unless one party should voluntarily yield, it must await the decision of the sword.

The king now tried his threatened "New Counsels" for replenishing his exchequer. He established a commission for compounding with the Papists for a dispensation of the laws against them. He demanded aid of the nobility. He demanded

£100,000 of the city of London; and the good city of London gave him a flat refusal. He required the maritime towns and adjacent counties to furnish, equip, and arm, each, an appointed number of ships. This was the first appearance of *ship money* in the reign of Charles. Little did he foresee the troubles that were to rise from this exaction. He laid taxes on his people and required the money under the name of *loans*. Whoever failed to make the contribution at which he was assessed, was taken from his house, carried to a distance and thrown into prison. Among other articles of secret instruction, direction was given to the commissioners appointed to levy these loans, says Hume, "That if any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays and excuses, and shall persist in his obstinacy; they should examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or to make an excuse for not lending; *who* has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used to that purpose; and they also shall charge any such person, in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any one what his answer was. So violent an inquisitorial power, so impracticable attempt at secrecy," continues Hume, "were the objects of indignation, and even, in some degree, of ridicule."

To support this law, the Church clergy were employed to preach up the doctrine of passive obedience and Non-Resistance. One *Sibthorpe* preached at the Lent assizes at Northampton, "That if princes commanded anything which subjects might not perform, because it is against the laws of God, or of nature, or impossible; yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without resistance or railing or reviling; and so to yield a passive obedience where they could not yield an active one." *Dr. Manwaring* preached, that "the Royal will and pleasure of the king, in imposing taxes without consent of parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience on pain of damnation; and that those who refuse obedience, transgress the laws of God, insult the king's supreme authority, and are guilty of impiety, disloyalty and rebellion; that in cases of emergency all property belongs to the king; and of that emergency the king alone is the sole and irresponsible judge.* These were the doctrines of the court, and of the high churchmen. Manwaring's sermon was printed by special command of the king. Sibthorpe dedicated his sermon to the king, and carried it to the old Archbishop Abbot to be licensed for the press. "Abbot's principles of liberty," says Hume, "had acquired him the character of a Puritan. For it is remarkable that this party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their religion, as the Church party did the prerogatives of the crown." Abbot refused to grant such doctrines

* Hume.

the seal of his license. The sermon was carried to *Laud*, then Bishop of London, who not only licensed it, but recommended it as "a sermon learnedly and discreetly preached, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the established Church, * * * and to the established doctrine of the Church of England." For his refusal, Archbishop Abbot was "suspended from the exercise of his office, banished from London, and confined to one of his country seats." His jurisdiction was, by commission, put into the hands of five bishops, of which the chief was the aspiring *Laud*.

The people imprisoned for refusing the forced loan, had in general submitted in hopeless silence. But now there were five men, among whom was *Hampden*, who ventured to demand release, not as a favor of the crown, but as due by the laws of their country. This was a bold and novel proceeding. "Though rebellious subjects had frequently," says Hume, "in the open field resisted the king's authority; no person had been found so bold, while confined, and at mercy, to set himself in opposition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the Constitution against the will of the sovereign." These men demanded their release. "No crime, no cause is assigned as the reason of our commitment," said they. "We are imprisoned only by the special command of the king and council; and by law, this is not sufficient reason for refusing bail or releasement."

The judges remanded them to prison, and refused the offered bail. The discussion of the question of law, and of the rights of the subject, spread light, and excited inquiry among the people. Deep were the murmurings that spoke the popular discontent. Is it so? said the people. May the king demand our property at his pleasure; the divines proclaim eternal wrath upon our refusal; and the judges condemn us to spend the present life in perpetual imprisonment? Then what is our freedom? How does our condition differ from that of slaves?

The king pursued the "other measures" which he had threatened. He quartered his soldiers upon private families; and whoever had paid the loan reluctantly and with delay, was sure to have his house filled with these compulsory and lawless guests. People of low condition, who refused, were pressed into the army or navy. Men of a higher class were sent abroad on the king's business, to the ruin of their own affairs. The soldiers quartered upon the people, were left unpaid; and, after being tempted or driven to a course of plunder and outrage, were subjected to the rigors of martial law.

Laud and his creatures stood censors of the press. Books against Arminianism were mutilated or forbidden: books in its favor were licensed and commended. If any wrote in defence

of the liberties of the people, they were questioned in the Star-Chamber, or fined by the High Commission. Apologies for Popery, and books and tracts inculcating popish tenets or rituals, were licensed; if any ventured to write on the other side,—the queen was a Catholic; and she must not be insulted by anything disrespectful to her religion.

The king's wants compelled him at length to call another parliament. They came—"men deputed from boroughs and counties, inflamed by the violations of liberty." Many of the members had themselves been cast into prison, and had otherwise suffered by the measures of the court. They were men who had had occasion to examine, with some interest, the great question of right; men of independence and spirit: and, says Hume, "possessed of such riches that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers." It was to these men that the king ventured, in his opening speech, to address the language of threats;—"If they should not supply his wants, he should use other means which God and nature had put into his hands." "Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals."

The Commons were not alarmed. Cool, wary, and determined, they went to the discharge of their duties in their own way. "Nothing," says Hume, "can give us a higher idea of the capacity of those men who now guided the Commons, and of the great authority which they had acquired, than the forming and executing so judicious and so difficult a plan of operations" as that which they carried into execution. It was in that house that *Sir Francis Seymour* stood up, and debated the question "whether all they had was the king's by divine right." Sycophant preachers might teach that doctrine and receive bishoprics as their reward; "but he is not a good subject,—he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will; and his liberty, against the laws of the kingdom."

It was there that *Sir Robert Phillips* stood up and declared, that "Amongst the old Romans, once every year, even slaves had liberty to speak their minds. The grievances of which I complain," said he, "I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and judgments of law against our liberty. What is this billeting of soldiers upon us in time of peace for a punishment? Yet, I can live, though another, who has no right, be put in to live with me. But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ransacked from me; to have my person shut up in jail without relief by law; if this be our state, why talk about liberties?" Even *Sir Thomas Wentworth*, the future apostate Earl of Strafford, could open his mouth for liberty. "We must vindicate;"—said he, "What? New things? No! our an-

cient, legal, vital liberties." It was not long before the royal benefactions and favor leagued that same Wentworth with the aspiring Laud, in a contest whose only issue was the overthrow of all liberty, or the overthrow of the crown.

The Commons framed a Petition; not a petition for Grace—but a PETITION OF RIGHT; security against arbitrary and illegal imprisonment; against the royal denial of a Habeas Corpus; against the imposition of taxes, loans, or benevolences, without act of Parliament; against the penalty of life, or limb, or exile, inflicted on any man without the verdict of his peers.

The king tried evasions: he gave equivocal answers. But the Commons were neither to be daunted nor foiled. They proceeded against Manwaring. The Lords passed sentence. He was fined and suspended. On his knees, at the bar of the House, he was compelled to crave pardon of God, the king, the Parliament, and the commonwealth. Yet no sooner was the session ended, than Manwaring received the king's pardon; was promoted to a rich living; made a dean; and in due time a bishop. Sibthorpe also received his measure of reward; and Montague, who still lay under censure of Parliament, was made a bishop.

Thus, in the very face of the Parliament, did Charles avow his determination to defend and reward the public maintenance of principles incompatible with a limited government, or with the Protestant faith. The people were already goaded to madness, and thus he mocked and defied them.

The Commons proceeded to censure the conduct of Buckingham. The king in anger sent them a message, which he was soon after glad to soften and retract;—forbidding them to enter upon any new business; and to let his servant and his government alone. Such messages raised the Commons to a sterner tone. The king was glad to calm the rising storm by coming to the House of Lords, and giving his full sanction and authority to the *Petition of Right*. The House rang with acclamations of joy. The notes of joy resounded throughout the nation. But the king did it with a hollow heart: and coming years showed him as false as he was despotic. Restrained by no allowance of rights, and by no sense of justice, he could be bound by no promises or engagements. Nothing remained for the people but resistance or slavery; and when the king was overthrown, his known principles forbade his conquerors to hope for any security but in his death.

When the Parliament met, January 20, 1629, after their prorogation, they found that all the copies of the Petition of Right which were dispensed, had annexed to them, by the king's orders, his first evasive and unsatisfactory answer. In this dishonest manner, Charles had endeavored to trifle with his own engage-

ments, and to deceive the people. *Selden* complained to the House, that, contrary to that Petition, one man had already been arbitrarily punished by the Star-Chamber, with the loss of his ears. The king had illegally continued to exact the duties of tonnage and poundage, which Parliament had not granted him. *Oliver Cromwell* was in that Parliament, as yet a young man, unknown to fame. As head of a committee, he reported to the House, concerning the countenance given to divines, who preached Arminianism, contrary to the Articles of the Church of England; and "others who preached *flat Popery*." He also called the attention of the House to the favors shown to Montague and Manwaring, who had been censured in the last session of Parliament. "If this be the way to Church preferment," said Oliver, "what may we not expect?" Angry speeches were made against the new ceremonies which Laud had begun to introduce into the Church; and against the images of saints, and angels, crucifixes, and lighted candles, and things of that sort. *Mr. Rouse* stood up and said, "I desire it may be considered what new paintings have been laid upon the old face of the Whore of Babylon to make her more lovely." *Pym* referred not only to the Articles, but to the catechism of Edward VI.; to the constant profession of the reformers and martyrs; to the Lambeth articles, which King James sent to the Synod of Dort, as the doctrines of the Church of England; all showing that this compound of Arminianism and Popery now introduced by Laud and the new bishops, is a fundamental departure from the Church of England. Parliament established the fixed doctrine of the Church of England dragging them out from the corruptions of Rome. They stand on the authority of Parliament; let Parliament now rescue the same from Rome once more. *Sir John Elliott* said, "If there is any difference concerning the interpretation of the 39 Articles, it is said that the bishops and clergy have power to dispute it, and order it which way they please: grant this to our present bishops, and our religion is overthrown." The Commons passed the following vote: "We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest and avouch for the truth, the sense of the Articles which were established by Parliament in the 13th year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which, by public act of the Church of England, and by the general current and exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. *And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians*, and all others that differ from us."

Whether it was within the province of Parliament to interpret the Articles of Religion, is a question which we need not stop to discuss. Parliament had established the Articles; and these Articles had become a part of the fundamental law of the realm

Was Parliament to look tamely on while the king was subverting one part of the constitution, and the bishops another; and carrying the nation back into the chains both of a secular and an ecclesiastical despotism?

Much has been said of late, of the "Fences" with which the Episcopal Church is guarded. But with those same fences, and by means of the very principles which they involve, the Christian world had sunk into the arms of a pestilent and anti-Christian superstition; and had groaned under the iron hand of a spiritual despotism during a dark night of a thousand years. These fences, of decrees, canons, liturgies, ceremonials, and prelatival prerogatives, had proved the sturdiest foes that the Reformation had to encounter. The *people* everywhere would have embraced the truth with alacrity, had they been free; but these "fences" seemed equally efficient to keep in darkness, and to keep out light. The Church of England was going post-haste to Rome. The sturdy resistance of the Puritans, under God, alone prevented it. That same compound of Arminianism and Popery, which is now spreading and prevailing under the name of Puseyism (only at that time it was more manfully developed), had taken an absolute possession of the high places of the Church of England. Hume has well said, that "*Throughout the nation,*" the advocates of this system "*lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy.*"

The advocates of the original and manifest sense of the Articles, were silenced by authority. From that day, the mass of the Episcopal clergy have gone away from the system of the 39 Articles, over to Arminianism. In the hands of a hierarchy, who had departed from the simplicity of Christ, these "fences" of liturgies, offices, and articles, became as straws; while to their hapless flocks, the same fences became barriers to pen them up helpless, and without power of flight, to the embrace of ravening wolves.

The Parliament proceeded in their work of vindicating the liberties of Englishmen. They summoned to their bar some officers who had seized the goods of sundry merchants and who had taken one of these merchants from the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and locked him up in prison, for refusing to pay duties imposed without the authority of law. The king sent word to the Commons, that what his servants had done, was by his special command; and he himself took the responsibility. In a contest with the king about his right to lay taxes without law, the House was dissolved: but not before they had passed their remonstrance by acclamation; and declared every person "*who should introduce Popery or Arminianism,* or advise the king to *levy the subsidies of tonnage and poundage*

without consent of Parliament; or who should voluntarily pay the same,—A BETRAYER OF THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, AND AN ENEMY OF THE SAME."

The king committed the leaders of the Commons to prison. Others were brought to trial, in the king's bench, for seditious speeches in Parliament. Refusing to answer in a lower court, for their conduct in a superior, they were heavily fined, and sentenced to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Sir John Elliott was confined till he died a martyr to the liberties of his country. Even then the people murmured vengeance upon Laud, the prime minister and adviser of these outrages.

The Parliament having proved so troublesome, Charles determined that he would never call a parliament more, and published his determination, adding a threat against any person who should presume to urge or advise him to the contrary. As to tonnage and poundage, and other duties levied without consent of Parliament, he declared that he neither could nor would dispense with them.

He tried the plan of purchasing off the popular leaders with wealth, office, and letters of nobility. With Thomas Wentworth he succeeded, who became a baron, a viscount, and then *Earl of Strafford*. All his talents, body and soul, he sold to the work of rendering his master an arbitrary and absolute king.

For twelve long years the English Constitution was at an end. Laud and Strafford led on the king to every lawless act of oppression. The king's will was law. His proclamations took the place of enactments of Parliament. Every man's property, liberty, and life, lay at the mercy of the king and his rapacious ministers. They levied duties of tonnage and poundage; and whatever other illegal imposts they thought proper. They laid taxes on "soap, candles, wine, cards, pins, leather, coals," and so on to the end. They sold monopolies "for gauging red-herring barrels, and butter casks * * for marking iron and sealing lace," even down to the monopoly of "gathering rags!" They levied ship money; and of the times, and the amount, the king was made sole judge. They demanded "coat and conduct money" for the army; they billeted soldiers upon private families. They exacted loans and benevolences; they compounded for nuisances and pretended encroachments; they put many to death by martial law, who should have been tried by the laws of the land." Indeed, what did they not do? Fines, imprisonments, cropping of ears, slitting of noses, and whatever outrages may be committed by unbridled and irresponsible power, rendered England for a long time as intolerable a despotism as Turkey. "Such was the calamity of the times, that no man might call anything his own, longer than the king pleased; or might speak or write

against these proceedings without the utmost hazard of his liberty or estate." For twelve long years the nation endured these things; and long might be the time filled up with narrating the details of these heart-rending cruelties. When I read the history of these things, I cannot wonder that Charles, with the two ministers of his iniquities, Strafford and Laud, were made to atone to the injured people of England for their violated laws and Constitution. Upon what principle of justice or decency is it, that the Church of England celebrates that tyrant as a "*martyr*;" and that Laud, the heartless pander of his crimes, is "*sainted*" as England's

"Holiest man!"

Take a specimen or two of the tender mercies of Laud. *Dr. Alexander Leighton*, a Scots divine, and father of the excellent archbishop of that name, had ventured to write against the hierarchy, a work which he entitled "*Zion's plea against Prelacy*." He was brought into the Star-Chamber, sentenced to be pilloried, whipped, his ears cut off, his nose slit, to be branded in the face with a hot iron, fined £10,000, and then to lie in the Fleet prison for life. When this sentence was pronounced, Laud pulled off his cap and gave God thanks for it; and when it was executed, he recorded it thus in his private diary: "1st. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. 2d. Being set in the pillory he had one of his ears cut off. 3d. One side of his nose slit. 4th. Branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S. [sower of sedition]. * * * On that day seven-night, his sores upon his back, ears, nose, and face, being not yet cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of his nose, and branding the other cheek." He was then carried back to prison, where he continued in close confinement TEN YEARS, and until he was released by the Long Parliament.

Prynne, a barrister, had written a book, in which, among other things, he had spoken severely of "Keeping Christmas, and dressing houses with ivy." "It must be confessed," says Hume, "that he had in plainer terms blamed the Hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worship, introduced by Laud; and this probably * * * was the reason why his sentence was so severe." He was sentenced to have his book burnt by the hangman; to be made for ever incapable of his profession; to stand in the pillory; to lose both his ears; to pay a fine of £5000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.* In prison, *Prynne* still managed to write against the Hierarchy; and

* Neale.

after a lapse of four years was again brought from prison to answer for the renewed offence. "I thought," said Lord Finch, "that Prynne had lost his ears already;" but added he, looking at the prisoner, "there is something left yet." An officer of the court removing the hair displayed the mutilated organs. "I pray to God," replied Prynne, "that you may have ears to hear me." "Christians," said Prynne, as he presented the stumps of his ears to be grubbed out by the hangman's knife; "stand fast; be faithful to God and your country, or you bring on yourselves and your children perpetual slavery."*

The mutilation being effected, Prynne and his fellows in suffering, were sent to distant prisons, and afterwards removed to the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, where they were kept without the use of pen, ink, or paper, or the access of friends; till at last they were released by the Long Parliament.

Nor did the tender mercies of Laud stop here. He pursued those who had showed these men civilities as they were carried to prison. Some who visited them in prison, though it had not been forbidden, were fined £250, £300, and £500. The servant of Prynne was prosecuted in the High Commission because he would not accuse his master.

But the cruelties of Laud cannot be told. He made new rules; imposed new ceremonies; adorned the churches with pictures, images, and altar-pieces; drew the rituals of worship to a closer assimilation to those of Rome. "Laud and other prelates," says Hume, "had adopted many of those religious sentiments, which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Christian Church, as is well known, was already sunk into those superstitions which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. Nor was the resemblance to the Romish ritual any objection, but rather a merit with Laud and his brethren; who bore a much greater kindness to the 'mother Church,' as they called her, than to sectaries and Presbyterians; and frequently recommended her as a true Christian Church; an appellation which they refused, or at least scrupled, to give to others. So openly were these tenets espoused," continues Hume, "that not only the discontented Puritans believed the Church of England to be relapsing fast into superstition; the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in the island; and in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him in private of a Cardinal's hat; which he declined accepting. His answer was, as he himself says, 'That there was something dwelling within him, which would not suffer his compliance till Rome were other than it was.'"

* Bancroft, Vol. i., p. 410.

In the meantime, the spiritual courts were full of business. "Every week," says Neale, "one or another of the Puritan ministers was suspended or deprived; and their families driven to distress: nor was there any prospect of relief; the clouds gathering thicker every day, and threatening a violent storm."

These "Puritan ministers" were the early ministers of Massachusetts Bay; and the ministers of the people who came through the forests to settle the towns on the Connecticut, and on the shore of Long Island Sound. The colony at Plymouth had lived, and others began to think of freedom to worship God in New England. "The sun shines as brightly in America," said they, "let us go." We shall leave our native land; we shall encounter perils and distress: but we and our children shall have FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD.

XV.

TIMES OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD.*

King and Prelates combine against the liberties of the People. Popish ceremonies and utensils. Images, pictures of God the Father. Communion tables turned into altars. Natural tendency of prelatic principles to corruption and persecution. Their fruit on a broad scale, and for a thousand years. Original idea of "A Church without a Bishop, a State without a king."

At the coronation of Charles, a novelty had been introduced by the officiating prelates, which struck the minds of his Protestant subjects with alarm. The king sitting with his crown and royal robes, the officiating bishop in the name of his brethren, recited to him the words of this charge: "Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you *by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the bishops the servants of God.* And as you see the *clergy to come nearer to the altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient, you give them greater honor*; that the mediator of God and man may exalt you on the kingly throne to be a mediator betwixt the clergy and laity; that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ the king of kings and lord of lords."

King Charles never forgot this lesson. His constant aim was to uphold and aggrandize the clergy. His queen, Henrietta, a woman of exquisite beauty and blandishments, and possessed of an unbounded influence over the mind of her husband, was a papist. It pleased her to see papists raised to authority and favor. It pleased her to see the Church of England adopting the rituals and doctrines of Rome; it pleased the king, it pleased Bishop Laud. Why should any favor be shown to the

* I employ in this caption the most honorable designation of the man—the one by which he is now ordinarily known; intending, however, to embrace the whole time of his *ascendency*. He became archbishop in 1633. He was made Bishop of St. David's in 1621; afterwards he was translated to the See of London. His actual supremacy in church affairs began in October, 1627, upon the sequestration of Archbishop Abbot.

Puritans, who set themselves so stoutly against popish doctrines and ceremonies, as well as against the absolute prerogatives of the king? Why should the king trouble himself with parliaments, that dared to question and resist the prerogatives which he held not from the British Constitution, but indefeasibly, and unlimited, from God? "In return for Charles' indulgence towards the Church," says Hume, "Laud and his followers took care to magnify on every occasion the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution." But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown at the expense of public liberty, they made no scruple of encroaching themselves on royal rights the most incontestible, in order to exalt the hierarchy, and to procure to their own order, dominion, and independence. All the doctrines which the Romish Church had borrowed from some of the Fathers, and which freed the spiritual from subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the Church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical character was insisted on preferably to a legal and parliamentary one. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeasible. All right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgment, was refused to "profane laymen."

In one word, it was a conspiracy between the prelates and the king, against the civil and religious liberties of the people. Nothing but the civil war that followed, prevented the nation from being carried back into the chains of popery, and into an unlimited and hopeless despotism.

A few specimens will serve to show the character of the superstitions introduced by Laud. "St. Katharine's church having been repaired, was suspended from all divine service till it should be consecrated again. On Sunday, 16th January, 1630, Bishop Laud came, with a procession, to consecrate it. At his approach to the west door of the church, which was shut and guarded by halberdiers, some who were appointed for the purpose, cried with a loud voice, 'Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may come in.' " As soon as Laud entered the doors, he fell down upon his knees, and with eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, he said, "This place is holy; the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Then walking toward the chancel he took up some of the dust and threw it into the air several times. When he approached near the rail of the communion table, he bowed toward it five or six times; and returning, went round the church with his attendants, saying the 100th, and then the 19th Psalm, as prescribed in the Roman Pontificale. He then read several collects, in one of which he prayed "That all who

should thereafter be buried within the circuit of that holy and sacred place, may rest in their sepulchre in peace, till Christ's coming at judgment, and may then rise to eternal life and happiness." Then sitting under a cloth of state in the aisle of the chancel near the communion-table, he took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those who should thereafter profane that holy place." At the conclusion of each curse he bowed to the east, and said, "Let all the people say amen." When these curses, about twenty in number, were ended, he pronounced in like manner, blessings upon all who had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give any chalices, plate, ornaments, or other utensils; and at the end of every blessing, he bowed to the east, and said, "Let all the people say amen." Then followed the sermon and the sacrament. The consecration of the elements he performed in the following manner; "As he approached the altar, he made five or six low bows; and coming to the side of it where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times; then * * he came near the bread, and gently lifting up the corner of the napkin beheld it; and immediately letting fall the napkin retreated hastily a step or two, and made three low obeisances. His lordship then advanced, and having uncovered the bread, bowed three times as before; then laid his hand on the cup, and letting it go, he stepped back and bowed three times toward it; then came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seeing the wine he let go the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before, after which the elements were consecrated."*

He consecrated St. Giles' Church in the same manner. It had been repaired, and in part rebuilt; and divine service had been performed, and the sacraments administered in it for some years. But upon Laud's accession, he interdicted the Church from divine service till it had been re-consecrated. Several other churches and chapels were in like manner shut up, till they had been consecrated after the same fashion.

Laud now set himself to introduce into the churches the ornaments and trappings of Popery. To support the enormous expense of repairing and beautifying St. Paul's, he raised money by "compositions with recusants, commutations of penance, exorbitant fines in the Star-Chamber and High Commission; in-somuch that it became a proverb that St. Paul's was repaired with the sins of the people;" nor was the work much more than begun, when, after the expenditure of more than half a million of our money, the civil wars arrested its progress.

The zeal of the people in the Reformation had destroyed many

* Neale.

of the Popish ornaments in the churches. Yet many remained and Laud would have the others restored. In the Cathedral of Canterbury, there yet remained the images of the Twelve Apostles, and of Christ, together with the images of sundry Popish saints. On the windows were placed images of the Virgin Mary, inscribed, "Hail, Mary, Spouse of God." Besides these, there were pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghost. In the Cathedral of Durham were carved images; and among them an image of God the Father. The dignitaries of the Cathedral had procured copes of Mass priests with crucifixes and images of the Trinity upon them. They had consecrated knives to cut the sacred bread; and lighted candles upon the altars on Sundays and saints' days. On Candlemas day they had no less than 200 of these, of which 60 were upon and about the altar."

The repairing of these paintings and images, was considered by many as the signal of an open return to essential Popery. Many among the most moderate, thought that these decorations tended to image worship, and that they were directly contrary to the homily on the peril of idolatry. Some ministers preached against them; others ventured to remove them; and in return fell under the vengeance of Laud and the High Commission. Ruinous fines, a prison, or recantation, awaited all who ventured to open their lips against these things. Some were arraigned and punished for the very texts on which they preached; and no doubt it was very easy to find passages in the Bible containing no very obscure inuendos against such doings. One preached on Numbers, xiv. 4: "*Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.*" Another, on 1 Kings, xiii. 2: "*And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O ALTAR, ALTAR.*" Such persons reaped the reward of their temerity in Newgate. Says Hume: "Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended or deprived by the High Commission; oaths were by many of the bishops imposed upon the churchwardens; and they were sworn to inform against any who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons." Some were whipped; some confined in a dark dungeon a whole winter, chained to a post in the middle of the room, with irons on their hands and feet; having no food but bread and water, with a pad of straw to lie on; and they were not released, but on condition of taking an oath and giving a bond not to preach any more, and to depart from the kingdom within a month, never to return.

Henry Sherfield was tried, May 20, 1632, in the Star-Chamber, for taking down some painted glass out of one of the windows of St. Edmund's Church, in Salisbury; in which were *seven pictures of God the Father, in form of an old man in a blue and red coat. with a pouch by his side*: one represented him as creating

the sun and moon with a pair of compasses; others as working on the business of the six days' creation, "and at last he sits in an elbow chair at rest." Many simple people, upon going in or out of the Church, did reverence to this window, because, as they said, the Lord their God was there. This gave such offence to Sherfield, who was a justice of the peace, that he moved the parish, at a vestry, for leave to take it down, and to set up a window of glass in its place; which leave was granted. Soon after, Mr. Sherfield broke with his staff the pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the window. He was called before the High Commission. Sherfield pleaded that that church was a lay fee, exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop; that the parish had lawful power to take down the glass: and that, as for the images, it was impious, by the divine law, to make an image or resemblance of God the Father. Laud stood against him, and justified the images. Sherfield was fined £500, and committed to close imprisonment.

A *Mr. Workman* had ventured to say in a sermon, that these pictures and images were no ornaments to churches, but tended to idolatry, according to the Homily. For this he was suspended, excommunicated, condemned to pay the costs of suit in the High Commission, and imprisoned. He had long been noted as a man of distinguished piety, wisdom and moderation. In consideration of his merits, and of the necessities of his family, the city of Gloucester gave him an annuity of £20. For this act of charity, the Mayor, Town Clerk, and Alderman, were cited before the High Commission, fined, and the annuity cancelled. Mr. Workman set up a little school: Laud inhibited him from this at his peril. Workman then tried the practice of physic; but this Laud absolutely forbade; so that being deprived of all methods of subsistence, the persecuted man sank into despondency and died.

In the time of the Reformation, when the bread was no longer thought the real body of Christ, nor the communion a sacrifice, the *altar* was deemed both a falsehood and an absurdity. It was accordingly turned into a communion table; and removed from *the wall*, so that the minister might no longer seem to be a *sacrificing priest*, a *mediator* between God and man, ministering as such with his back to the people. Laud now took order for turning the communion-tables into altars, and removing them back to the wall, as they had stood in the times of Popery. "It is not easy," says Hume, "to imagine the discontents excited by this innovation, and the suspicions which it gave rise to." "Many ministers and churchwardens," says Neale, "were excommunicated, fined, and obliged to do penance, for neglecting the bishop's injunctions. Great numbers refused to come up to the

rails and receive the sacrament ; for which some were fined, and others excommunicated, to the number of hundreds."

The court clergy were become very exact in observing the popish ceremony of bowing to the altar at various parts of service, and upon coming in and going out of church. "Laud strictly enjoined it ; and always had a lane made upon his coming in and going out, that he might see the altar and do reverence towards it." "In the new body of statutes for the Cathedral of Canterbury, the dean and prebendaries were obliged by oath to bow to the altar at coming in and going out of church."

Laud, also, undertook to enforce by penalties, the ceremony of bowing whenever the name of Jesus occurs in the service ; and many ministers were fined, censured, or deprived for omitting this ceremony or for speaking against it.

The people made too much of the Sabbath to suit the genius of Laud. The Lord Chief Justice having observed the mischief arising from church-ales, clerk-ales, and other revelries on the Lord's day, followed the example of the judges in the 10th of Elizabeth, and made an order at the assizes to suppress them. Laud interfered, and the Chief Justice was forced to recant. The justices signed an humble petition to the king, declaring that these revels not only introduced great profanation of the Lord's day, but riotous tippling ; and other things contrary to order and good government. At the instance of Laud, the king published his *Book of Sports*, declaring it his pleasure, that his subjects, having first done their duty to God, should engage in all manner of lawful games, recreations, and sports ; and commanded that this declaration should be published through all the parish churches from the pulpit. The court had their balls, masquerades, and other plays on the Sabbath ; and the youth throughout the country engaged in all kinds of games and revelling on that holy day. A minister of the Gospel ventured to write, "A defence of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the Sabbath day," for which he fell into the hands of the High Commission. The Bishop of Ely, Dr. Pocklington, and Heylin, the archbishop's chaplain, were employed to write down the Sabbath, and to write up the sports.

The sober and religious part of the community were struck with horror. Many of the clergy refused to publish the book of sports. Others read it, but immediately after "read the Fourth Commandment ; adding, This is the Law of God ; the other is the injunction of man." Laud knew that pressing the Book of Sports would distress the Puritans, and accordingly it was pressed with relentless severity. Many clergymen were silenced and deprived ; others were excommunicated ; others were forced to leave the kingdom for not publishing the Book of Sports.

A Dr. Bastwick ventured to call in question the divine right of the order of bishops; he was cited before the High Commission, fined a thousand pounds, and thrown into prison till he should recant.

Laud stretched out his hand across the sea, but his endeavors to compel the English congregations at Hamburgh, and elsewhere, to conform to the canons and rubrics, only showed the impotency of his malice and bigotry to accomplish anything there. The chaplains of the English regiments and factories abroad were, however, brought under the yoke; the merchants abroad were compelled to yield; the king's ambassador in France was forbidden to frequent the Protestant worship; and he took care to publish, that the Church of England looked not upon the Huguenots as a part of their communion. The descendants of the foreigners who had fled to England from persecution, and who had been allowed to worship God in their own way, were now forced to abandon the way of their fathers, and to conform to the ceremonials of the English Church. Thousands of them left the kingdom,—many of them, such as had been engaged in manufacture, greatly to the benefit of the poor and to the advantage of the nation. The French government pleaded the example of England to justify their severities against the Huguenots. "If," said Richelieu, "a king of England, who is a Protestant, will not permit two *Disciplines* in his kingdom, why should a king of France, who is a Papist, admit two *religions*?"

Laud took another occasion to exhibit his hatred of Protestantism. The Queen of Bohemia, sister of King Charles, had earnestly proposed the king to allow a public collection, over England, for the poor persecuted ministers of the Palatinate. The king's brief, giving this allowance, spoke of these as "*ministers*:" and of their constancy in the "*true religion*." Laud was enraged that their religion should be called *the true*; and that the brief spoke of Rome in its persecutions, as Anti-christian. He was enraged that these men should be recognized as *ministers*; not having had Episcopal ordination. His objection to calling the Church of Rome Anti-christian is one which those who at the present day are earnest to seek out a less filthy channel for the "Succession," would do well to mark. *He objected to calling Rome Anti-christian, "because it would then follow that she was IN NO CAPACITY TO CONVEY SACERDOTAL POWER IN ORDINATIONS; and consequently the benefits of the priesthood, and the force of holy ministrations, would be LOST IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH; forasmuch as she has NO ORDERS BUT WHAT SHE DERIVES FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME."**

The collection was defeated. Some Puritan divines encourag-

* Neale.

ing their friends to enlarge their charity, were brought before the High Commission, and a stop put to the collection.

Conformity to the new ceremonies pressed with greater vigor, spies were everywhere employed. Informers were upon the watch, whenever a minister suspected of Puritanism entered the pulpit. "No man was safe in public company, nor even in conversing with his friends."

It is a weariness to proceed any further in these details of the superstitions introduced; the treacheries and cruelties practised by the prelates of the Church of England in those days.

The Puritan ministers, harassed, persecuted, hunted from one diocese to another, turned their thoughts to the wilds of America. From the midst of such persecutions came out those who planted the early Churches of Massachusetts; and some of them removing southward, began the early plantations on the Connecticut, as at Windsor, Hartford, Weathersfield, and those upon the seashore, as at New Haven, Branford, Guilford, Milford, Fairfield, Stamford, and Norwalk. From the midst of these corruptions and persecutions, came the early fathers of this congregation, whose graves are still visible in our ancient burying-grounds; and whose names are still perpetuated among their descendants of the sixth and seventh generations. Till this time they had remained in the Church of England: they had not separated from it like the Pilgrims of Plymouth; but they had groaned under its corruptions and tyranny; till compelled at last to flee, and looking narrowly into the Word of God that they might lay the foundations right, they returned to the apostolic simplicity of organization and worship; rejecting the hierarchy and the trammels and forms imposed by mere human authority, as the source of that corruption, despotism, and persecution, under which the disciples of Christ had so long groaned in bondage. The fathers of these New England Churches were enlightened, conscientious, bold, and determined men; who valued religious liberty above all earthly price. Their ministers were all regularly ordained ministers in the Church of England; among the most learned, the most laborious, the most beloved, and godly in the land. Puritanism had endured persecution for ages. Again and again had the authorities supposed it rooted from the land. Now, once more, the best ministers and people of the Church of England had found its corruptions and cruelties too grievous to be borne; and fondly as they had been attached to that Church, no sooner were they free, and left with the Bible and the light of experience, to guide their judgment, than they cast off the prelacy, its impositions, and its forms together. In twelve years, during the ascendancy of Laud, there

came over to New England more than 4000 such people. Their posterity bearing their names, are scattered through the wide extent of the United States. It was nearly ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, before another colony was established in New England; but ere another ten years had passed, SEVENTY-SEVEN MINISTERS, who had been clergymen of the Church of England, were established as pastors and teachers of the Puritan churches in the rising villages of New England.*

The tide of emigration continued to pour on. "The Puritans," says Hume, "shipped themselves off to America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country.† But their enemies, unwilling that they should anywhere enjoy ease and contentment, and dreading, perhaps, the consequences of so disaffected a colony, prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, debarring these devotees access even into these inhospitable deserts."

After multitudes of the Puritans had been drained off, those who had remained *members of the Established Church*, unable to bear its tyranny any longer, rose upon the king and the bishops, and swept away the throne and the hierarchy together. Our fathers were away. They were here in the wilderness at the time of the civil wars in England. Hooker, Davenport, and Cotton, were sent for by the Long Parliament, to constitute a part of the celebrated *Assembly of Divines*; but they wisely declined.

In that Assembly of Divines, the most learned and the ablest men in England—though bred in all the prejudices of the Es-

* Cotton Mather gives the catalogue of these seventy-seven ministers, as well as the catalogue of the churches where they were settled. Many of them had been second to none in Old England. Perhaps the history of the whole world may be searched in vain to find seventy-seven other names of cotemporary ministers, of contiguous churches, equal to these in learning, in piety, in cool, sound judgment, in firmness, enterprise, and in everything that can adorn the character of a man and minister of Christ. There was *Thomas Hooker*, of Hartford, of whom *Ames*, the great theologian of his age, used to say, "He never knew his equal." There was *John Cotton*, of Boston. There was *Davenport* of New-Haven, who was styled by one of the ablest of his cotemporaries, "A princely preacher." There were *Wilson*, and *Norton*, and *Elliot*, the Apostle of the Indians, and *Shepard*, of Cambridge; indeed nearly the whole list is made up of distinguished names. England was sifted, and the choicest of her ministers transplanted to the New World.

In addition to these seventy-seven names, Cotton Mather gives the names of fourteen more, who were students in divinity, but who finished their education in the colonies. Among these were Mr. *Bishop* of Stamford, and *Thomas Hanford*, the first pastor of the Church in Norwalk; who began to preach to the fathers of this congregation in 1648, and continued their minister till his death, in 1692; a period of 44 years.

† "It has been computed," says Neale, "that the four settlements of New England, viz. Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, all of which were accomplished before the civil wars, drained England of £400,000 or £500,000 sterling (a very great sum in those days); and if the persecutions of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, it is thought that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have passed out of it through this channel"

tablished Church—when they met to establish a Church Polity in consonance with the Word of God, renounced the scheme of Prelacy altogether. That scheme came in again at the Restoration, as the Bourbons returned to France, not by the wishes of the people, but by the hand of power. No sooner was it re-instituted than it began its persecutions of the Puritans within the bosom of the Church. The Puritans and Puritan divines again began to pour into America, and as fast as they arrived, from sober conviction they renounced the hierarchy and adopted the simple organization and order of the New England Churches. "These ministers," says Cotton Mather, "which were without any exception, as faithful, painful, and useful as most in the nation, being exiled, there were not known to be left so many Non-Conformist ministers as there were counties in England." Yet the spirit and principles of Puritanism immediately began to spring up and grow, so that in a few years the same domineering spirit of the hierarchy drove out TWO THOUSAND of the ablest and most devoted ministers of the Church of England, upon a Protestant St. Bartholomew's Day. And in spite of all artifices, rewards and punishments; with every effort of patronage, wealth and power—test-acts and disabilities—in spite of intolerable and crushing burdens and discouragements, Puritanism has since continued to gain upon the Established Church of England, till now *one-half of the regular attendants upon public worship in England, are numbered among the Dissenters.* A large share of the remaining half, the old Laudean system, with all its enormities of corrupt doctrines, superstitious forms, and intolerance, under the new name of Puseyism, is carrying back with rapid strides to the very gates of Rome. In all these times, multitudes of Christ's true disciples have no doubt lived and died in the bosom of the English Established Church. Doubtless, Christ has true and beloved disciples among all denominations who bear his name. Doubtless, many are found, of whom the world is not worthy, even amid the anti-christian abominations of Popery. It is true, also, that in the Articles of the English Church, the true scheme of the Gospel is traced in clear and living lines. With many glaring defects, there are also many noble excellences in her Liturgy. But the character and tendencies of the PRELATAL SYSTEM have been legibly written in the results of its past dominion over the Christian world. For that scheme of polity, the Popish and Puseyistic doctrines have ever shown, in the long run and on a grand scale, an invincible affinity. Those tendencies are at the present day broadly developed in the practical working of the system in its fairest fields, England and the United States. We see here a gangrene, and there a foul leprosy; creeping on, and spreading over large portions of the body, the marks of ap-

proaching spiritual death. We trace the history backward, and find the same seeds of mischief ever springing up, and bearing still the same fruits of intolerance and spiritual death. We trace these unvaried results of the system, on a large scale, and for a long course of time, up to the causes which produced them. They lie in *the assumption of ghostly prerogatives and power; priestly intervention for the forgiveness of sins; baptismal regeneration; the validity of ordinances ministered by virtue of a power to confer grace in sacraments; a virtue flowing down through a chain of an Apostolic succession; the right of the Church, viz. of a Hierarchy, to make canons and prescribe ceremonies and forms for the worship of God: the denial of the right of private judgment; and of the sufficiency of the Bible alone, without human traditions or Church interpretations, to make men wise unto salvation.* These are the fond tenets of Puseyism; the rudiments and essentials of Popery itself; without which all other abominations of Popery would fly like straws upon a whirlwind. To these false principles, these tenets of superstition and despotism, we trace the tyranny and spiritual death, from which so many godly ministers and people of the Church of England, found no relief, but in coming out and being separate. After witnessing the results of that scheme in England, we look abroad to Austria, to Spain, to Italy; we cross to Asia, where without a Pope, the same principles have reigned long enough, and with sufficient power, to show their results; and we find everywhere the same dismal reign of darkness and spiritual death. We go up to remoter ages, and a Hierarchy with its forms and fences, its decrees and its canons—wherever it meets us—presents to us still the same hideous features of intolerance and spiritual death. We tread through the hollow aisles and vaults of the Inquisition—the places of the dead; we go where the ashes of martyrs are mouldering; where the fires once raged that have long since been quenched; we go to the towers and dungeons where the Lollards dragged out their lives in darkness and in chains; we go where the dragoonings were inflicted on the Huguenots of France; we penetrate the valleys of Piedmont, where the nights were once lightened by the flames of their dwellings, and the snows around were crimson with their blood; everywhere—everywhere, we trace the legitimate fruits of that principle which denies the right of private judgment to the people; gives the interpretation of the Scriptures to the fathers, to councils, or to prelates, under the name of “*The Church*,” and claims for that Church, “*holy and apostolic*,” “the right to make canons for the use of ceremonies in the worship of God, and to enforce the same by law as upon her children.” Surely the grand experiment has been tried for centuries

enough; and on a scale sufficiently grand. What is become of the hundreds of happy Churches that once lined the shores of Northern Africa? Gone! Where are the lights that once shone in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, at Rome? Gone out in a night of a thousand years. And where, in all these times, do we find the true light of the Gospel? Among those poor Churches unblest with a prelacy of the boasted "succession;" among the *Albigenses*, who, in the words of Mosheim,* "denied that the ministers of religion (bishops, presbyters, and deacons), were of divine appointment [i. e., that they hold their authority according to the dogma of a *jure divino* succession], and maintained that the Church could exist without an order of teachers." We look among the Waldenses, who had *bishops*, not such as boast of a lineal apostolical succession, but bishops of the people's making, and who held, not only that the Pope of Rome is not superior to bishops, but that "there is no difference as to rank or dignity among priests;"† we look to those poor Churches, which the Great Harlot, sitting on the seven hills of Rome, and drunken with the blood of the saints; the great scarlet persecutor with which Protestant Prelacy is now claiming a sisterhood, and a unity of catholicity, to the exclusion of all "Dissenters," we look to the Churches which this Scarlet Harlot was then persecuting to death. History has written the character of prelacy in broad lines of darkness, despotism, and blood; and that over many lands, and for a thousand years! With what arguments, with what honied accents shall the world be persuaded to try the grand experiment again? An apostolical succession! The authoritative interpretations of the Church! We remember who it was that sent his disciples away from the tradition of the elders to "*search the Scriptures*;" thus for ever establishing the RIGHT and the DUTY OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT. We remember who it was that said "*Prove all things*;" yes, even the interpretations of the first two centuries are to be proved by the Word of God. Surely those interpretations cannot themselves be the rule of that standard by which they are to be tried! It was a true Apostle, not a pretended successor, who said, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." "God's clergy, a state whereunto God's people must be subject!" We remember who it was that said, "*Call no man master*." The same it was who said, "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you." Long, long, has the world seen the consequences of breaking away from this injunction of the Saviour. And so broadly and plainly are the principles of this injunction writ-

* Vol. ii., p 204.

† Jones' Church History, p. 318.

ten in the Bible, that with great uniformity the people of God come to the same conclusions, the moment when, released from ecclesiastical influence and power, they set themselves with diligence to search out the principles of Church polity laid down in the Word of God. Wickliffe and his followers came to the same results with the Puritan founders of New England. Those who worshipped God in secret under the bloody Mary, came to the same results. Those who from time to time left England for the wilds of America, though strongly prejudiced in favor of the English Church establishment, upon searching the Scriptures, came to the same results with their brethren who had gone before. The distinguished orator at a recent celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims, was not quite correct when he attributed the rise of the republican principles of the English Puritans to the time when they found at Geneva "*A Church without a Bishop, a State without a king.*"* Republicanism in the Church was no new thing among the Puritans of England. It was as old as Wickliffe. Too much has been attributed to the influence of the exiles at Geneva. That was a drop in the bucket. Before these principles were known at Geneva, thousands had embraced them and died for them in England. *They owe their origin not to Geneva; not to the Puritans; not to Wickliffe; but to the Word of God; to the principles of Church polity laid down in the New Testament; and to its delineations of the organization and discipline of the Primitive Apostolical Church.* The present age may have too little consideration to prize these principles. Light and uncertain spirits may turn apostates. But if the world should once more sink in darkness and spiritual bondage, these principles will once more rise in majesty to vindicate the rights of man and the truth of God. Their might is inherent and indestructible. In the greater spread of light and freedom and pure religion, these principles will ever continue to rise and prevail. What our fathers proved by Scripture and justified by reason, has now been made a matter of experiment for two hundred years; and the spot where that experiment has been tried, though the trial began in the wilderness, and was continued in the midst of difficulties, hardships, and wars; that spot has long stood forth unrivalled by any other spot for any two hundred years in the history of the whole world. In its results to this nation alone, the grand experiment has richly repaid all the toils and sufferings it cost. Future generations will yet appreciate, better than the fondest admirer of the Puritans has ever yet appreciated, the worth of their principles to the cause of freedom and humanity; to the cause of righteousness and of God.

* Hon. Mr. Choate.

XVI.

REMOVALS TO AMERICA, AND FOUNDING OF THE PURITAN CHURCHES.

Plymouth a few years after its settlement. Plantation at Cape Ann. Naumkeag. Charlestown. Fleet and Colony of 1629. Tolerant spirit of the Colonists. Salem Church. The Fleet and Colony of 1630. Rapid emigration. Planting of the New England Churches.

THE settlement at Plymouth affording a rendezvous and shelter to adventurers in the fisheries and the trade in furs, such adventurers began immediately to swarm all along the northern coasts of New England. In the year 1624 about fifty ships left England for such adventures upon these coasts. At this period there were at Plymouth about one hundred and eighty souls. The town was impaled about, half a mile in compass. On the hill they had a fort "well built with wood, lime, and stone,"* Health had returned to the colony; not one of the first planters having died within the last three years. This year they had freighted with the products of their trade and industry, a ship of 180 tons.†

The adventurers for trade and commerce had now turned their thoughts to the establishment of some settlements for the furtherance of their projects; when Mr. White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester in England, conceived the idea of making these settlements conducive to the great ends of planting religion in America. A plantation was commenced at Cape Ann; and, soon after, its management was committed to Mr. *Roger Conant*, a "pious, sober, prudent man," from among the colonists at Plymouth. In 1626 the adventurers threw up their business in discouragement. Mr. White, unwilling that so good a design should fail, writes to Mr. Conant, that if he and three others will remain, he will procure them a patent, send them men, provisions, and whatever they need to pursue the trade with the natives.

Mr. Conant had, before this, foreseen that the persecuted Puri-

* Prince.

† Ibid.

tans in England must soon want a place of refuge. Before the settlement of Cape Ann was given up, he had fixed his eye upon *Naumkeag*, now Salem, as a convenient spot for such a settlement; and had communicated his views to his friends in England. Upon the reception of Mr. White's letters, he told his disheartened companions, that he "Did believe God would make this land a receptacle for his people; and if they should leave him, yet he would not stir, for he was confident he should not long want company."

Conant and his companions removed to "Naumkeag, a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, embraced on each side with an arm of the sea,"* and awaited the coming of those who, they foresaw, must soon flee from the storm of persecution in England. A year had nearly passed after their removal, when some friends in Lincolnshire, conversing together about their troubles, turned their thoughts to New England. Might there not be a refuge there? Might they not plant the Gospel there? Might they not enjoy there freedom of conscience, and leave the ordinances of religion pure, to their posterity? "We imparted our reasons," says Dudley, "by letters and messengers to some in London and the West country." A purchase was made from the Council for New England, for a patent for a belt of land from three miles south of the Charles River, to three miles north of the Merrimac, extending from Massachusetts bay to the Pacific Ocean. White sought out and secured such associates as could be relied upon for the great enterprise; men of religious fervor, of high character, of enterprise, courage, and unyielding perseverance. Their design was to found a religious settlement; and their determination was to colonize "*the best*."

On the 20th of June, 1628, Endicott set sail from Weymouth, in England, with a small company, to make way for the settlement of the new colonists. In September, they were welcomed by Conant and his companions to the new settlement amid the forests of Salem. Yet what will not the restless spirit of enterprise and adventure do? It was a curious prognostic of the future character of American pioneers, that of the little band which came over with Endicott, some seven, with leave of the governor, undertook a journey through the woods; and, after a ramble of twelve miles, lighted on the present site of Charlestown. Here they found a lonely English house, thatched and palisadoed; and here, with the consent of the Indian Sachem, they began a settlement. Another company was sent over to Salem, in the fall of the same year, to make further preparation for the expected colony. In February, 1628, Mr. Cradock, at London, wrote to Mr. Endicott, of the progress of things at home. "Our company,"

* Prince.

said he, "are much enlarged : there is one store ship bought, of 100 tons ; two more hired of 200 tons ; one of 19, the other of 20 ordnance ; in which ships are likely to be embarked between two and three hundred persons, and about 100 head of cattle." "It is resolved to send two ministers, at least, with the ships now to be sent : those we shall send shall be by approbation of Mr. White, of Dorchester, and Mr. Davenport. I account our ships will be ready to sail hence, by the 20th of next month."*

One of the ministers to whom the company made application, was Mr. Higginson, of Leicester ; a man eminent for his abilities, his piety, and for the great success which had attended his ministry. Says Cotton Mather, "Such was the divine presence with, and the blessing on the ministry of this good man" [in Leicester], "that the influence thereof on the whole town became a matter of observation ; many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan to God : * * and there was a *notable revival of religion* among them." The matter of Church order and discipline was then agitating the Church of England : and for some years, Higginson, while continuing a Conformist, had entertained scruples of conscience. Pursuing the study of the Scriptures, and of antiquity, he at length came out a conscientious Non-Conformist. He still retained his attachment to the Church of England, and refused to separate, though he could no longer conform to its rituals. Of course, he could no longer officiate in his parish church. By the favor of the good Bishop Williams and of the people of Leicester, he was still permitted to preach the Gospel, till both the people and the bishop fell under the vengeance of Laud. Even then the authorities of the town chose Mr. Higginson to be their town preacher, to which place there was annexed a large maintenance paid out of the town treasury. Mr. Higginson thanked them, but could not comply with the necessary conditions of conformity. "Offers were made him," says Mather, "of the greatest and richest livings of the country thereabouts." These he declined for conscience' sake. He still endeavored to do good in private. "Many resorted to him for his counsel and advice in regard to the state of their souls, and he did much for the education of scholars going to or coming from the University ; some of whom were afterwards among the most eminent ministers of the Gospel in England. But the fury of Laud could not suffer him to rest. Complaints were laid against him, "so that he lived in continual expectation to be dragged away by the pursuivants to the High Commission Court ; where," says Mather, "a sentence of perpetual imprisonment was the best thing that could be looked for."

With Higginson, was associated Mr. Samuel Skelton, another

* In Prince.

nonconformist clergyman of Lincolnshire. With these, came also Mr. Ralph Smith, who became the first pastor of the Church at Plymouth; that Church having lived in expectation of Mr. Robinson for some years, till with deep sorrow, they heard of his death.

It was in the beginning of May, 1629, that these ships, the "*George Bonaventure*," the "*Lion's whelp*," and the "*Talbot*," sailed for Massachusetts. Three more, the "*Mayflower*," the "*Four-Sisters*," and the "*Pilgrim*," followed them in the beginning of June. When the first of these fleets came opposite to Land's-end, Mr. Higginson called up his children and the other passengers to take their last view of England. "We will not say," exclaimed Mr. Higginson, "as the Separatists are wont to say at their leaving England,—Farewell, Babylon,—Farewell, Rome;—but we will say, Farewell, dear England: Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there. We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of Church Reformation, and to propagate the gospel in America." He concluded "with a fervent prayer for the King, the Church, and state in England, and for the blessing of God with themselves in their present undertaking for New England."

After a pleasant summer voyage, on the 24th of June, 1629, they entered the harbor of Salem, and descried the eight or ten hovels, that composed the town, surrounded by a few corn-fields, and the dense forest beyond. The whole body of planters was now three hundred; of whom one-third removed, and joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth came as an organized Church; having long enjoyed the ordinances, and exercised the discipline of a Church, separate from the Church of England. The colonists at Salem had continued with the English established Church;—Puritans, and suffering for nonconformity; but never having established a separate Church organization. Bringing with them regularly ordained and acknowledged ministers of the Church of England, they had contemplated the enjoyment of Church organization and ordinances: nor did they design to set up again those things in their Church estate, which they deemed unscriptural, for which they had suffered persecution, and to avoid which they had fled from their native land. The principles of Church polity had been long and earnestly discussed in England. Mr. Higginson had devoted special attention to this subject for years. He had conferred with such men as Thomas Hooker and Davenport; and, with the great mass of the Puritans, he had come to the conclusion, that in several important

respects, the organization of the English Church corresponded neither with the scriptural platform, nor with the earliest antiquity of the Christian Church. The people who came with him, came with an understanding of each other's views; they expected to set up a Church polity differing materially from that of the English Church; yet, before their voyage, they had agreed only on this, that in their future organization, "*The Reformation of the Church was to be endeavored according to the written Word of God.*"

Being now arrived at their destined haven, these general outlines of Church polity were to be filled up; their principles were to be reduced to practice; a Church was to be organized according to the pattern set forth in the Word of God.

Here might appear to be room for great discrepancies of opinion, and great difficulties might seem to lie in the way of their coming to an agreement, as to what *are* the principles of Church polity delineated in the Word of God. These discrepancies and difficulties were not found in practice. The Word of God was found so plain on this subject, that their views readily harmonized on every practical point, as soon as they were at liberty to throw everything else away, and to follow the Word of God as their only authority. They had been bitterly prejudiced against the settlers at Plymouth: yet it is remarkable how closely they agreed with the people of Plymouth in all the conclusions which they drew concerning Church polity, as soon as they set themselves down to reduce to practice the scheme to be drawn solely from the Word of God. No less remarkable was the unanimous conclusion to which scores of the most learned ministers in England arrived—who had either independently, or with mutual consultation, set themselves to collect the scheme of Church order and organization recognized in the New Testament. Ten years brought over, as we have seen, no less than seventy-seven ministers, who had all been clergymen of the Church of England, and who had all continued their connection with that Church; having never set up a separate Church organization;—all of whom gave up every earthly emolument and comfort;—left their country as well as their livings, and took up their abode in a wilderness for the sake of Gospel truth and order; and all of whom, as the result of their independent study of the Word of God, came out upon the platform of Church government which has characterized the New England Churches ever since that time.

The prejudices of the Salem colonists against the Church of Plymouth, arose from the mistaken impression that the people of Plymouth were Separatists and Brownists; separating not merely from the world, but from all other Churches; and that they held

close communion against all, save such as agreed exactly with themselves; adopting the peculiar disorganizing Independency of Brown. It was against such a principle of separation and close communion, that Higginson spake, when standing on the deck and taking his last view of his native land, he exclaimed, "We will not say, as the *Separatists* were wont to say, 'Farewell, Babylon; farewell, Rome;' but, farewell, dear England; farewell, dear Church of God in England. We do not go as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it."

Mr. Higginson, as well as the other Puritans who had remained in England, had been greatly misinformed concerning the principles and spirit of the Pilgrim Church, both at Leyden and Plymouth. It was true that Robinson had in his early years been inclined to the principles of the Brownists and Separatists; but maturer age and experience had corrected his errors; and his views had become enlarged and liberal beyond the age. Winslow, in his Brief Narration, written some years after the removal to Plymouth, is very earnest to refute the slanderous accusations which had been circulated by their enemies in England. He bears this testimony concerning Mr. Robinson: "I living three years under his ministry before we began the work of plantation in New England, it was always against separation from any other of the Churches of Christ; professing and holding communion both with the French and Dutch Churches; yea, tendering it to the Scotch also." Against the *constitution* and *government* of the Church of England; against its *national* communion, mingled up of worthy and unworthy—of Christians and of open blasphemers—Robinson and his Church never ceased to bear witness. But he ever maintained the liveliest esteem for Christ's people in the Church of England, and never shut them away from the rights of conscience and of communion which he claimed for himself. The Pilgrim Church not only admitted members of the Dutch and French Churches to occasional communion, but received them into their Church. A minister of the Church of Scotland having fled from persecution to Leyden, and asking the privilege of being *present* at the communion, as a spectator, Mr. Robinson replied, "Reverend sir, you may not only stay to behold us, but partake with us; for we acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ:" an invitation which the Scotsman, fearing ecclesiastical censure at home, durst not accept. When Robinson himself could not go to America, he advised his people to take with them some godly minister from England: "For," said he, "there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom." "And so," says

Winslow, "he advised us by all means to endeavor to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than disunion; viz. how near we might possibly close without sin." Winslow adds: "If any joining us formerly, either when we lived at Leyden, in Holland, or since we came to New England, have, with the manifestation of their faith and profession of holiness, held forth *separation* from the Church of England, I have divers times, both in the one place and the other, heard either Mr. Robinson or Mr. Brewster stop them forthwith; showing that we required no such thing at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the fear of God, and submission to every ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of England to themselves and to the Lord."

Robinson and the Pilgrim Church were neither separatists nor schismatics. They were ready to commune on equal terms with all of Christ's people of every name. They held it no schism for Christian congregations to refuse to submit to ordinances imposed by the commandments of men. If any, claiming authority to impose rites and ceremonies which Christ has not ordained, thrust his people away from their Lord's table, forbid them to worship, deprive them of their goods, and send them to prison or into banishment, because they cannot in conscience practise such inventions in the worship of God—they who impose such things, and who distract the Church of God—they are schismatics; not those who simply claim the natural right to worship God according to conscience and His word.

A pleasing incident, in which it is easy to trace the overruling hand of Divine Providence, had prepared the way for a better acquaintance between the colonists of Salem and those of Plymouth, and for that friendly intercourse which has always marked the Puritan Churches of New England. A severe sickness, such as is incident to settlers in new countries, had fallen upon the pioneers at Salem; and Endicott, hearing that there was at Plymouth a physician [Mr. Fuller], famous for his skill in the diseases of the country, sent to the governor of Plymouth, entreating that Mr. Fuller might come to their assistance. The physician hastened to Salem; and his efforts were crowned with great success. He was a pious man, deacon of the church at Plymouth, intelligent, well able to give an account of the polity of the Plymouth Church, and to show its warrant from the Word of God. The prejudices of Endicott and of his associates were removed. They discovered that the principles of the Plymouth Church were none other than those, at which the Puritans of old England had already arrived after a careful searching of the Word of God.

These things were transpiring while Mr. Higginson and his

company were yet on the waters; and while they were yet on their way, Endicott wrote to Governor Bradford, at Plymouth, expressing his gratitude for the timely aid. "I rejoice," said he, "that I am by him [Mr. Fuller] satisfied touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship. It is, so far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth; and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself to me; being far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular; but God's children must not look for less here below."*

Mr. Higginson and his company having arrived, frequent conversations were held concerning the method to be pursued in organizing the Church; till the method was agreed upon by common consent. By vote of the congregation, Mr. Shelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher. A day was appointed for organizing the Church and installing their ministers. Letters were sent to the Church at Plymouth, requesting them to attend by their delegates for friendly counsel and aid. This practice of sending for the counsel and aid of neighboring Churches on such occasions became, from that time, one of the settled customs of the New England Churches; and in owning and observing their obligation to observe such a fraternal intercourse and communion, in which each Church shall, on occasions of common interest, seek the aid and counsel of sister Churches, as well as hear their remonstrances, and be ready to give an account of their doings—these *Congregational Churches* differ from *Independents*.†

In the mean time, thirty persons are, by common consent, chosen out of the whole number of communicants, to be the first to enter into covenant and to begin the foundation of the new Church. A confession and covenant are drawn up; thirty copies are written out; each of the thirty persons is called upon to ponder these engagements and to prepare himself for such a solemn transaction. On the appointed day the thirty come forth, and own the confession and covenant in the presence of the congregation and of Almighty God. Then the ministers are installed. Mr. Higginson, and a chosen number of brethren in the Church—elders in age, and for this special work chosen as the elders [Presbyters] of the Church,—lay their hands on Mr. Shelton with solemn prayer. Then Mr. Shelton and the persons chosen lay their hands on Mr. Higginson.‡ Both of these hav-

* Prince.

† Ibid.

‡ The Colonists at Salem had from the first treated Messrs. Higginson and Shelton with the courtesies due to acknowledged ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ. So with the seventy-seven who had been ministers of the Church of England, and who were within a few years from this time installed as pastors and teachers of the Puritan Churches in New England; they were treated with the consideration due

ing long been acknowledged ministers of the Church of England, I suppose that even Prelatists could have nothing to object against their *ordination*. The Church and congregation recognized no right, in any other human authority, to set over them pastors and teachers save by their own choice. The act of installation, or induction, was no doubt sufficiently formal and regular to make it *valid* in the sight of God and man. Can any tell why this Church, so gathered in the wilderness, and so furnished with pastors, was not a regular and proper Church? Can any show it to be otherwise, on any principle of God's Word, or of common sense; or on any grounds that do not involve the grossest absurdities?

It may be interesting here to give some extracts from the *Covenant* on which the Church at Salem was formed. It is a fair specimen of the covenants on which the Puritan Churches were generally organized, and which still remain in use among the Puritan New England Churches.* "We covenant with our Lord and with one another, and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed Word of truth: and do especially, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." * * "We avouch the Lord to be

to ministers; but they were allowed no official prerogatives in the Churches without election and an induction, which was then styled Ordination, but afterwards more properly Installation; and the ceremony is now performed without the laying on of hands. The Churches, to secure their franchises from priestly as well as from prelatist usurpation, allowed no ministers save their own pastors and teachers to officiate for them without an invitation. The elders or deacons would say in such cases,—“If ye have any word of exhortation, say on.” The formality is laid aside, but the principle is still preserved. No strange minister officiates in our churches on his own prerogatives as a minister, but only on invitation of the Church or its constituted authorities. Many of the early settlers of New England, held with Mr. Cotton, the extreme opinion that a “minister hath no power to give the seals” [Baptism, &c.] “but in his own congregation.”

* Each Church has also a summary of the essential doctrines of the Gospel, which each person received into the Church, solemnly and publicly owns as his Confession of Faith. All that is essential to entitle any Church to the privileges of this community of Puritan Churches, so far as doctrine is concerned, is, that its Confession of Faith substantially corresponds either with the Savoy Confession, the Confession of the Assembly of Divines, the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, or with the doctrinal part of the Articles of the Church of England. There is a surprising agreement between the several Confessions formed by the Protestants of all countries about the same age. The Augsburg of 1530; the Second Helvetic, framed in 1536; the French, drawn up and adopted by a Synod held in Paris in 1559; the Belgic, of 1563; the Bohemian or Waldensian, of 1573; the Baptist, by the seven Baptist Churches of London in 1646; the Westminster of 1643; the Savoy (at the Savoy in London), in 1658, and the English Articles of 1562:—these are substantially the same in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. The Reformers of all countries going to the Bible alone, and each for himself; all substantially agreed as to the great scheme of truth laid down in the Word of God. What an argument for the truth of these doctrines; and what a reproach to the present Arminianism of the English Church, so contrary to the manifest sense of her Articles, as evinced by the concurrent testimony of all Protestant divines of that day!

our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits." * * "We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation; resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship. We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness; avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of the spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us."

In the remaining Articles, they engaged for orderly walk with the Church; to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace; to be orderly citizens; to approve themselves diligent in their callings; and unto the best of their ability to teach their children and households, the knowledge and fear of God. "All this," said they, "we promise not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ; whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."*

The remarks of the historian Bancroft upon this transaction, are worthy to be repeated:—"The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a Church in the wilderness; with no benefactor around them but nature, no present sovereign but God. An entire separation was made between State and Church; religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each separate religious community; all officers of the church were elected by its members; and these rigid Calvinists, of whose rude intolerance the world has been filled with malignant calumnies, subscribed a covenant cherishing, it is true, the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety, not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots."

* * "The doctrine and discipline established at Salem remained the rule of Puritan New England."

The Church at Salem refused to receive to its communion some persons of scandalous life, and exercised discipline upon some who had committed offences. Upon this a few gathered together; set up separate worship with the use of the book of Common Prayer, and complained that the Church used neither that nor the ceremonies prescribed by the Church of England. Their conduct was deemed inconsistent with the safety of the infant colony: the governor rebuked them as guilty of mutiny and faction, and ordered them back by the return of the ships to England. This was meting the adherents of the Church of England with the Church of England's own measure. What-

* Mather.

ever extenuation may be pleaded from the exigencies and newness of the colony, from the law of necessity, lest this effort in behalf of the Church of England, and these claims of the obligations of the colonists to observe its forms, should end in the subversion of the colonial liberty to worship God according to their conscience (for such was the scope of these new claims, if not the design of the claimants); whatever may be said in palliation, from their not having had time fully to free their minds from the prejudices which they had been taught in their native land; it must be confessed that in this proceeding, as in some others of a later date, the Puritan colonists acted inconsistently with their principles. But with them it was not so much a question of toleration as of the maintenance or defeat of the very design of their emigration; they were well assured that if the malcontents could succeed in their designs, they themselves would not much longer be allowed their freedom in the worship of God. The returning ships carried home such accounts from the pen of Higginson, and of others of the emigrants, as awakened deep interest among the persecuted Puritans of England. They had suffered almost beyond endurance; but they had seen no mode of escape, without running into hardships and perils that seemed almost certain destruction. Now the way appeared open; and the more so when it was determined that the charter and management of the new domains were to be transferred to America. Cotton Mather justly describes the enthusiasm raised in England when he says,—“Briefly the God of Heaven served, as it were, a summons upon the spirits of his people in the English nation; stirring up the spirits of thousands who never saw the face of each other, with a most unanimous inclination to leave all the pleasant accommodations of their native country, and go over a terrible ocean, with a more terrible desert, for the pure enjoyment of all his ordinances.”

Before the end of 1629, a congregational Church was gathered at Plymouth in England, of which Mr. John Wareham, a famous preacher of Exeter, and Mr. John Maverick, were chosen ministers. Great preparations are made for removing to New England. Men, women and children are gathered, a chosen company; Winthrop is made governor of the new colony. In February, 1630, the good ship *Lion* sails from Bristol. The *Mary and John* leaves Plymouth on the 20th of March. On the 29th of March, Winthrop with Johnson and other leading men, in the *Arabella* of 350 tons, 28 guns, and 52 seamen, the *Talbot*, the *Ambrose* and the *Jewel*, leave the port of Cowes; the *Mayflower*, the *Whale*, the *William* and *Frances*, the *Tryal*, the *Charles*, the *Success*, and the *Hopewell*, lying at Hampton, not yet ready. Winthrop and his fleet had been informed, at the

Isle of Wight, that "ten Spanish ships, with brass guns, the least of which was thirty," were waiting to intercept them. On the 10th of April, they discover several ships bearing towards them, and "provide to fight them;" but these prove to be the remainder of their fleet from Hampton. On Saturday, the 12th of June, at two in the morning, the *Arabella*, admiral of the fleet, "finding her port near, shoots off two pieces of ordnance;" and descrying the *Lion*, which had arrived before her, "sends the skiff aboard," stands in towards the harbor, and comes to anchor. "Mr. Pierce, master of the *Lion*," says Governor Winthrop, "comes presently to us, but returns to fetch Mr. Endicott, who with Mr. Skelton and Captain Levit, come aboard us about two o'clock. And with them, this afternoon, the governor, with those assistants on board the Admiral, and some other gentlemen and gentlewomen," go ashore to their friends at Salem. "Many of the other people also, landing on the eastern side of the harbor, regale themselves with strawberries, wherewith the woods are everywhere in these times replenished."

Next morning, Masconomo, the Sagamore of that side of the country towards Cape Ann, comes on board the Admiral to bid him welcome. In the afternoon arrives the *Jewell*. Monday, June 14, the Admiral weighs, is warped into the inner harbor, and in the afternoon most of the passengers go ashore; but find the colony in an unexpected and sad condition; more than eighty having died in the preceding winter, many of the remainder being feeble or sick, and the stock of corn hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight. The governor and principal men leave to find out a place for settlement. At Nantasket they find the ship *Mary and John*. The *Ambrose* reaches Salem before their return. The *Mayflower* and *Whale* reach Charlestown on the 1st of July; the *Talbot*, on the 2d; the *William and Frances* on the 3d; the *Tryal* and *Charles*, on the 5th; the *Success* on the 6th; the *Hopewell* comes at last; and on Thursday, July 8, they keep a public thanksgiving "throughout all their plantations, to praise Almighty God for all his goodness and wonderful works towards them."

Among these emigrants were Winthrop, Ludlow, Rossiter, Johnson, with his wife, the Lady Arabella, whose story is so touchingly remembered in all the annals of New England; Wilson, Philips, Warham, Pyncheon, Bradstreet, Dudley, and many others whose honored names are yet perpetuated among the families of New England. "Some of these," says Prince, "set forth from the west of England, but the greatest numbers came from about London, though Southampton was the place of rendezvous where they took ship. These were they who first came to set up Christian Churches in this heathen wilderness."

It is not my design to trace the history of the new settlements, nor to give any further account of the gathering of the early Churches, nor of the distinguished men who labored in the work of the ministry during the early times of the New England History. Norton, Cotton, Shepard, Stone, Elliot, Hooker, Davenport ; these are a constellation of names which would have distinguished any age or country in any period of the Christian Church. Nor were these alone. The *seventy-seven* ministers, who left England and the English Church for conscience' sake, were all choice men. Those who came over the ocean left not their superiors behind ; nor has the splendor of their character, their talents, and their piety ever been eclipsed, either in Old England, or among the descendants of those to whom they ministered in the Western Wilds. They laid the foundations of learning and religion well. New England, America, the world, has already reaped, and is still to reap in larger measures, the fruits of their sagacity, their piety, and their self-denying toil. Sufferings awaited them ; diseases, dangers, and death, stood thick around the devoted colonists ; yet, in the words of Bancroft, "As the brightest lightnings are kindled in the darkest clouds, the general distress did but augment the piety and confirm the fortitude of the colonists. Their enthusiasm was softened by the mildest sympathy with suffering humanity ; while a sincere faith kept guard against despondency and weakness. Not a hurried line, not a trace of repining appears in their records ; the congregations always assembled at the stated times, whether in open fields or under the shade of an ancient tree ; in the midst of want they abounded in hope ; in the solitudes of the wilderness they believed themselves in company with the Greatest and most Benevolent of Beings."

The emigrations continued. The plantations and churches spread abroad. Within twelve years, about one hundred and ninety-eight ships were employed in bringing over the founders of New England, and by the good providence of God, only one of those ships miscarried by the way.

XVII.

RISE OF THE CIVIL WARS.

Charles a martyr to his own insincerity and crimes. Attempts to impose a Liturgy upon Scotland. Uproar in St. Giles'. Solemn League and Covenant. The Episcopal War Charles forced to call a Parliament. Laud impeached. Divine right of Episcopacy discussed. Smectymnus. Irish Massacre. Appeal to Arms.

THE English Church celebrates the "*Martyrdom of King Charles I.*" But in no sense did King Charles sacrifice his life for the cause of religion. His political crimes against the laws and the Constitution; his falsehoods and treacheries; his utter want of faith in his solemn engagements to his indignant people; these were the causes of his ruin. His people found no redress, save in arms: and when their monarch was overthrown, his known insincerity and treachery forbade them to hope for any safety but in his death. King Charles was a martyr to his own insincerity and crimes. He fell, in endeavoring to erect an absolute despotism over a free-spirited and indignant people. He had cast his life upon the die; and either his people must be reduced to slavery, or he must perish: there was no other possible alternative. But perhaps by the celebration of his "*martyrdom*," it is designed to intimate that he lost his life in the cause of "*The Church*," or (which they claim as the same thing) of *Episcopacy*; which High Churchmen seem to consider as nearly synonymous with religion. How then was Charles a martyr for "*the Church*?" Under the covert of his authority, corruptions were introduced into its doctrines; a wide and fundamental departure was made from the original sense of its articles; its rites and ceremonies were nearly assimilated to those of Rome. The power of the prelates was greatly augmented at the expense both of the royal prerogatives and of the popular rights. Charles was one of those kings, who in this manner delight to "Give their glory to the Beast." In the reign of Henry VIII., the bishops were content to hold even their spiritual superiority over presbyters, from the civil power. But in passing sentence on Bastwick, the bishops, with the allowance of Charles, denied that they held the

jurisdiction of their courts from the king. At the instance of Laud, Charles permitted the bishops to hold their ecclesiastical courts in their own names, without the king's letters patent under the great seal. The design of this was fully to realize the idea that bishops hold their authority not from the crown, but, *jure divino*, from God himself. Half the business of Chancery was drawn into the hands of the bishops' officers. The king allowed the bishops to frame new articles of visitation, and to administer new oaths of inquiry. "In this manner," says Hetherington,* "the prelates became possessed of extensive jurisdiction, both civil and ecclesiastical, not only independent of the Crown and Parliament, but based upon the assumption of a *divine right*, which rendered them entirely irresponsible, and beyond the control of human law. Had not the spirit of liberty, civil and religious, been at that time vigilant and strong, these prelatic usurpations must have soon reduced England to a state of the most abject slavery."

For this abject devotion to the interests of an aspiring and domineering hierarchy, the prelates of the Church of England have had the address to persuade the people of that Church to forget the crimes of King Charles, and to celebrate him as a saint and martyr!

They have a further show of reason for so doing, from the fact that it was the foolish attempt of Charles to impose an Episcopacy and a Liturgy upon Scotland that roused up the civil wars, which overturned Episcopacy "root and branch," and in which the king lost both throne and life.

Freedom still breathed amid the hills of Scotland. A hierarchy had been established there, but its prelates were prelates only in name; circumscribed and watched by a jealous and undaunted people, while the ministers of the Scottish Church regarded episcopal jurisdiction as a mere mischievous usurpation.

Laud now persuaded the king that it would be a good and pious work to establish a liturgy and Episcopacy in full form over the people of Scotland. A liturgy was prepared, modelled mainly after the English, but altered and fashioned in such a way as to suit the genius of Laud, and of a cast more popish than that of England. In the office for the Lord's Supper (which was made closely to resemble a mass), the priest, taking the bread and wine into his hands, and reciting the words of the original institution of the Lord's Supper, is made to say, "WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE THAT THEY MAY BECOME THE BODY AND BLOOD OF THY MOST DEARLY BELOVED SON; * * these words being printed in large capitals to mark their significance."† The compilers of this liturgy were ordered to retain

* London Christian Observer, April, 1843.

† Hist. Assembly of Divines.

such Catholic saints in the calendar as were retained in the English; *and in no case to omit St. George and St. Patrick.* Sundry lessons out of the Apocrypha were inserted.* "There was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, and rubrics were added instructing the people when to sit, when to stand, and when to kneel."

Such was the Liturgy sent up to be imposed upon the people of Scotland. Due notice was given; and on the Sabbath, July 23, 1637, in the great church of St. Giles, was assembled a mighty concourse of people, with both the archbishops, several bishops, lords and magistrates, to witness the setting up of the new liturgy. The dean, arrayed in his surplice, began the service. No sooner had he opened the book than there began a mighty uproar among the lowest of the people; clapping of hands, cries of "A pape—a pape," "Antichrist—antichrist." The Bishop of Edinburgh stepped forward to the pulpit, hoping to appease the people. A resolute Scots woman hurled a stool at his head, shouting, "What, ye villain; will ye say mass in my lug?" "A pape—a pape," cried the multitude. The magistrates succeeded, partly by force, in expelling the people, and the dean went on with the service, while a rapping at the doors, and throwing of stones, and cries of "A pape—a pape," were kept up by the populace without.

The lords of the council, who knew what stuff Scotsmen were made of, feared to attempt the reading of the Liturgy again. When the news reached Laud, he was furious, and hastened a message blaming them for suspending the Liturgy, and requiring its continuance. Again the indignant people poured into Edinburgh. The prelates' lives were in danger; nor would the people disperse till the council had promised to join with the other lords in petitioning the king against the service book. The king issued his proclamation, forbidding any more such petitions on pain of high treason. The barons, ministers, and burghers, assembled and signed a declaration of rights.

The hot blood of the Scots was now cooled. There were no more tumults; but cool and wary, every countenance bore the marks of a determination never to be overcome. The nation renewedly entered into the *solemn league and covenant*, subscribing with their hands their confession of faith, declaring their abhorrence of all kinds of papistry; of all rites and traditions brought into the kirk contrary to the Word of God. These things they engaged to oppose to their utmost power; "and to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of the kirk all the

* The English book of Common Prayer, as also the American Prayer-Book, still directs sundry portions of the Apocrypha to be read as *portions of the Word of God!* See "TABLES OF LESSONS FOR HOLY DAYS."

days of their lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment."

Every threatening and artifice the king tried, to move the Scots from their determination, but it was all in vain. The Scots had taken their stand. The king was forced to allow the calling of a general assembly, but when that assembly was found intractable, he dissolved it, and forbade the members to continue their session under the pains of high treason.

The assembly continued its sessions. The episcopacy, the high commission, the cannons, the liturgy, were thrown down and abolished. Like the acts of the Continental Congress in the American Revolution, the acts of that assembly were sustained by the determination of the people, and were therefore law. "Thus," says Hume, "the whole fabric which James and Charles, in a course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell to the ground."

You will fix in your minds the chronology of these events, by observing that they were cotemporaneous with the first settlements in Connecticut. These things occurred between the time when the few adventurers came through the wilderness from Watertown, in Massachusetts, and began the settlement of Weathersfield in 1635, and the beginning of the plantation of New Haven in 1638.

And now King Charles approaches the crisis that decides his final destiny. He proclaims his determination to take the field in person against the Scots Covenanters. The principal nobility are summoned to attend his Majesty. Every power of the prerogative is exerted to raise men and money. The bishops exhort the clergy to liberal efforts for his Majesty's support in what they do not scruple to call "*The Episcopal War.*" The archbishop writes for a contribution from the civil courts; requiring his commissary to send him the names of such as should refuse. The queen and her friends undertake for the Roman Catholics; who well approve their zeal and liberality in so holy a cause. The English nation is roused to a crusade for forcing bishops and a Liturgy upon the poor Scots; whose resources in money are nothing; and who have not three thousand stand of arms in the nation.

Every pulpit in Scotland rang with the "rights of conscience," and "freedom to worship God." Every Scotsman was a soldier, determined for freedom or a grave.

With a formidable fleet and a powerful army, King Charles came and looked on the Scots; and suddenly entered into a negotiation to withdraw his fleet and army, while the Scots should dismiss their forces. Charles was insincere: but the Scots were

wary. They ordered every officer to be ready at a moment's warning, and every soldier to make his account for another invasion.

With great difficulty Charles drew together another army. But his means were exhausted: his credit was gone. Thus ended his experiment of an arbitrary government for twelve years. He was forced to call a Parliament. The Parliament deemed it more their duty to redress the wrongs of their own nation, than to furnish the king with the means of renewing the Episcopal War.

The indomitable Pym called the attention of Parliament to the wrongs in Church and State. Inquiry was made concerning persons illegally detained in prison. The Parliament began to look into the affair of ship-money. The king, in anger, hastily dissolved the Parliament. He summoned the offending members before the council, and cast them into prison. He borrowed money. He forced loans. Every dishonorable and illegal method was resorted to, to furnish means; and being at length prepared, he marched his army once more against the Scots.

The Scots were ready, and advanced to meet him. Every man carried his week's provision of oatmeal; and they took a drove of cattle to furnish them with meat. They had no cannon, but a fertile invention supplied this deficiency. "They prepared," says Burnet,* "an invention of guns of white iron, tinned, and done about with leather, and corded so that they could serve for two or three discharges." These were light, and were carried on horses. Thus furnished, they advanced, they said, "To meet their gracious Sovereign;" and with all coolness and civility, entreated the opposing troops not to stop them in their way. When these did not comply with their request, they attacked them with an irresistible onset. Those tinned guns saved the nation; proved the ruin of Charles; and perhaps saved the English liberties. The English, thinking the Scots destitute of artillery, were surprised and struck with a panic at the first discharge. Their whole army fled. The Scots pressed on to the collieries; and by cutting off the supply of fuel, had London at their mercy. They advanced to Durham; and maintaining the exactest discipline, plundering nothing, taking nothing without pay, they sent messengers with redoubled expressions of loyalty to their gracious sovereign; and made apologies full of sorrow and contrition for the necessity that had forced them to achieve the victory.

Thus ended the second crusade of King Charles I., for forcing Episcopacy and a Liturgy upon the Presbyterians of Scotland. His resources were now so exhausted, that he must either call a Parliament or cease to reign. The nation, injured, indignant,

* Burnet's Hist. of His Own Times.

and long groaning under every outrage upon the Constitution and laws, was now to be heard. The necessities which forced Charles to call a Parliament, forced him also to give his consent that they should not be dissolved, save by their own act. Thus began the Long Parliament on the 3d November, 1640: the very year when the pioneers of the first fathers of this town* began to clear away the unbroken forests that covered these shores.

Never was there a greater array of talent and patriotism in an English Parliament. Even Lord Clarendon admits that "There were many great and worthy patriots in the house, and as eminent as any age had ever produced." The difficult times; the long continued debates; the deep reflection upon the principles of law, and of popular rights, had awakened a mighty array of talent: and the people, aware of the crisis, had returned to Parliament their ablest and best tried men. In every crisis of the kind, the times produce a race of men adequate to the emergency. It was in those times, as when the long continued aggressions of Britain upon these colonies, and the long debates, and long continued times of peril, had brought into being that race of men who accomplished the American Revolution: a race not less distinguished for their intellectual greatness than for their pure devotion to their country, and for their heroism. Even Hume pays the highest compliment to the distinguished character of the Long Parliament. "This was the time," he says, "when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves and to be distinguished by the public. There was celebrated the sagacity of *Pym*, more fitted for use than ornament; matured, not chilled, by his advancing age and long experience." There was *Hampden*, "supported," says Hume, "by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty." There was *Selden*, whose name will ever be considered as one of the ornaments of English history. There was *Cromwell*; and whatever else may be said of him, this at least will scarcely be disputed, that never was the sceptre of England wielded by a more vigorous or sagacious hand. His Protectorship, compared with any preceding age, or with several ages succeeding, was an era of toleration, justice, and law. Weakened as she was by the civil wars, England rose to respect and greatness abroad; and foreign tyrants and persecutors trembled at Cromwell's name. At one word from Cromwell, the persecutions against the Waldenses ceased. The Duke of Savoy and Cardinal Mazarin gnashed their teeth with rage; but with the whole power of France at command, they durst not raise a finger more against the Waldenses while Cromwell lived. "All Italy," says Bishop Burnet,

* Norwalk.

"trembled at the name of Cromwell, and seemed under a panic as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the Mediterranean; and the Turks" [who had been the terror of Europe] "durst not offend him." Power, scenes of strife, and living so long amid plots and tumults, corrupted his religious character; so that in his latter days he was not what he once was; but future ages will yet wipe off the stigmas of ignorance, fanaticism, brutality, and hypocrisy, that have been so diligently cast upon the name of Cromwell. The men of secondary rank in that Parliament, as Hetherington has well remarked, "were possessed of talents and energy enough to have earned a high renown in any period less prodigal of human power."

It cannot be pretended that all their measures were entirely moderate or wise. The times were unfavorable. The English people were not, like the American people at their Revolution, prepared for a Republic. The past history of the world did not hold out sufficient light to guide the great experiment. Causes beyond their control; casualties to human power inevitable, hindered the results of their labors. Divine Providence overruled. But what man may be expected to do, they did. It is not certain that any amount of human wisdom or energy, in their circumstances, could have done more. Even Hume confesses, that, "What rendered the power of the Commons more formidable, was the extreme prudence with which it was conducted."

These were now become the vindicators of the laws and constitution against the fickle and irresolute King Charles, the bigoted and vindictive Laud, and the aspiring Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; himself a host, though on the side of tyranny. It was not to be expected that such a Parliament would be swift to furnish the king with means for carrying on the Episcopal war in Scotland, while those same means might be further employed against their own liberties. They impeached the Earl of Strafford for various overt acts aimed at subverting the fundamental laws of England. While the bill of attainder was yet before the House of Lords, a conspiracy was detected by which the king was to bring the army, raised against the Scots, up to London, to overawe the Commons, seize the town, release the Earl of Strafford, place him at the head of the Irish Papists, call over succors from France, and lay the liberties and religion of the people at the feet of the king.*

An impeachment of high treason was brought against *Laud*. The Lord Keeper *Finch*, who, on the bench of justice, had proved himself the willing tool of the king and council, and had poisoned the very laws in their administration, took the alarm and fled. The Commons took hold of those who had been the instruments

* Neale.

of illegal exactions. The judges who had condemned Hampden in the trial of ship-money were accused before the peers. The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwick, and Leighton, underwent an examination. The long captivity of these injured men was broken. They were brought from their distant prisons in the isles of Scilly and Jersey. The people met them at their landing, with shouts of joy, and swelled the tide of their attendants on their triumphant journey to London. Their mutilated members could not be restored, but redress was given them against those who had pronounced and inflicted the illegal punishment. The Parliament by a unanimous vote abolished the courts of the Star-Chamber and the High Commission. They abridged and regulated the authority of the council. To all these things Charles, either through weakness or necessity, yielded his royal assent, though the sequel shows that he did it with a hollow heart, and with the full determination to regain his despotic power as soon as it could be done, by flattery, by treachery, or by force.

As this Parliament abolished the system of Prelacy in England, it is now necessary to give some attention to the causes which more immediately led to that event. It was no pre-determination on the part of the members of that Parliament. "As to their religion," says Lord Clarendon, "they were all members of the Established Church, and almost to a man for Episcopal government."* Says another, "who lived through those times," "Both lords and commons were most, if not all, peaceable, orthodox, Church of England men; all conforming to the rites and ceremonies of Episcopacy, but greatly averse to popery, tyranny, and to the corrupt part of that Church that inclined to Rome."†

The change of sentiment in this Parliament, and the change in that able body of ministers and laymen, who composed the *Assembly of Divines*, is another instance of the repeated rise of Puritan principles, as opposed to the Prelatic, among men, by education, by habit, and by prejudice, strongly biased in favor of Episcopacy.

The circumstances which led to so great a change of sentiment, were these. After the king had so suddenly dissolved the last Parliament, finding the prelates and clergy so much in favor, not only of his "Episcopal war," but of his claims to despotic power, he gave, under the great seal, his commission to the *Convocation* to reassemble and continue their sitting. If the Parliament would not bind the nation to slavery by law, the prelates seemed determined to do it by their canons. The Convocation proceeded to ordain seventeen canons; and first, concerning the

* Neale.

† Moulin in Neale.

regal power: "*That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself; * * that for subjects to bear arms against their king, either offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, * * even though they do not invade, but resist, is worthy of damnation.*" This decree, every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, was to read one Sunday in every quarter of the year, upon pain of suspension; and if he should maintain any position contrary to it, he should forthwith be suspended and excommunicated. They added the king's inauguration day to the number of Holy Days, to be observed by coming to church, under the usual penalties. They denounced excommunication upon all who should print, import, or disperse, any books written against the discipline of the Church of England. They imposed upon all ecclesiastical persons an oath, that they would never give their consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. Whoever should refuse this oath should be suspended and deprived. It was to be imposed, likewise, upon all students in the universities; all graduates, lawyers, divines, physicians, and schoolmasters.

Great were the complaints that the clergy should presume to define the prerogatives of the king, and to impose upon the people the dogma of the divine right of kings, of passive obedience, and non-resistance. Great complaints were made of this illegal imposition of oaths never to consent to the altering of a scheme of Church government, parts of which nobody ever pretended to be of divine authority, and which were in their nature changeable.

Great complaints were made of compelling men to swear to the "&c." without defining what it meant, or might be supposed to mean. It was called "*The Et Cetera oath.*" Numbers of the clergy scrupled to take it; and the murmurings of the people were deep and strong.

The authority of that illegal convocation, and their doings, fell under the animadversion of Parliament. The bishops had set forth and attempted to impose principles touching the government of the Church, so mingled up with tenets destructive of all liberty, that they provoked from that keen-sighted Parliament, an examination which could not well stop without drawing into the inquiry, the claims of Episcopacy itself. Such an inquiry had not heretofore been allowed. Whoever ventured to write against Episcopacy, was sure to be ruined; his books were suppressed and destroyed. A new era had now come: the people and the Parliament would have light.

Another circumstance had contributed to awaken attention to this subject. When the king was endeavoring to force Episco-

pace upon Scotland, the Scots Assembly had issued their declaration affirming Episcopacy to be unlawful. To stop the mischief of that declaration, Bishop Hall, at the request of Laud, composed a treatise on the "*Divine Right of Episcopacy*." Divine right of Episcopacy! Is this so? murmured many who sympathized with the persecuted Scots. The press was now open; and a flood of publications poured forth under titles like these:

"*Prelatical Episcopacy, not from the Apostles!*"

"*Lord bishops, not the Lord's Bishops!*"

"*A comparison between the Liturgy and the Mass-Book!*"

"*Service Book no better than a mess of pottage!*"

"*Nature of Episcopacy!*"

Archbishop Laud was in close keeping now. The Star-Chamber and the High Commission were abolished. It was no longer possible to slit men's noses, and to crop their ears, or to condemn them to perpetual imprisonment for examining the nature and claims of Episcopacy. It was the first time that there had been liberty of discussion, and a safe field. The king and the bishops had made the issue under the claim of a divine right.

Bishop Hall once more entered the field with "*An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament*," and again in "*A Defence of that Remonstrance*." He was answered by the combined forces of several writers under the strange title of "*Smectymnus*;" which word was nothing more than the initials of Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow.

The debate filled the nation. Letters were written on both sides, for the views of foreign divines. *Blondel* came out in a learned work on the side of the Puritans. *Amyraldus* for Episcopacy. Says Hetherington, "Even the mighty Milton employed his pen in this keen literary warfare; and it is no rash matter to assert, that in learning, talent, genius, and strength of argument, the Puritan writers immeasurably surpassed their antagonists, and produced an impression on the public mind so deep and strong, that it decided the controversy, so far as prelatic Church government was concerned, even at its beginning."*

Petitions poured into Parliament. One, of fifteen thousand citizens of London, called the "Root and Branch Petition;" desiring that the whole fabric of the hierarchy might be destroyed, "Root and Branch;" another, signed by seven hundred beneficed clergymen, and an incredible number of hands from the several counties of England, praying, not for an extirpation of Episcopacy, but for its reformation. On the other side, petitions were

* Hist. of Assembly of Divines, p. 72.

presented to the king and the House of Lords, by multitudes of the people, including six thousand of the nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy. These petitions imported that, without bishops, there can be no presbyters, no consecration of the elements, no Church."

The "Root and Branch" petition set forth that, "Whereas the government of archbishops and lord-bishops, deans and archdeacons * * * with their courts and administrations in them, have proved prejudicial and very dangerous to the Church and commonwealth: they themselves having formerly held that they have their jurisdiction or power of human authority; till of late they have claimed their calling immediately from Christ; * * * And whereas the said government is found, by woful experience, to be a main cause and occasion of many foul evils, pressures, and grievances of a very high nature, to all his Majesty's subjects, in their consciences, liberties, and estates, We therefore humbly pray and beseech this honorable assembly, the premises being considered, that the said government, with all its dependencies, *roots and branches*, may be abolished."

For several days set apart for the purpose, these matters were debated in the Parliament. Sir Harry Vane, Selden, and Lord Falkland, whom Clarendon declares the most extraordinary person of his age, participated in that debate. The most eminent advocates of Episcopacy agreed with Lord Falkland when he said, "*I do not believe the order of bishops to be of divine right, nor do I think them unlawful.*" From that moment, the *Divine Right* of the order of bishops was numbered, by the Parliament and by the bulk of the nation, among the idle dreams and exploded dogmas of superstition. But neither the Parliament nor the nation was ready to abolish, Root and Branch, a system which, however arrogant and mischievous, was yet interwoven into the Constitution as one of its integral parts. They dreamed not yet of abolishing the monarchy: they hoped to settle the affairs of the nation in good understanding with the king; but henceforth they placed the Divine Right of bishops and the Divine Right of kings on the same grounds, as in their claims too idle, and in their tendency too clearly at war with all freedom, ever more to be entertained.

I need not detail the efforts of Parliament at amending the Hierarchical establishment. That it needed retrenchment and limits, and that great abuses needed to be redressed, all agreed. The opposition of the king and bishops only served to discover more and more the enormity of these abuses, and the deep mischief of the prelatial scheme. When at length the Assembly of Divines was called, which consisted of men all bred in the

Established Church, and up to these times all friends of Episcopacy, so thorough was the conviction of the groundless nature of the Episcopal claims, and of its incompatibility with the best interests of freedom and religion, that there were none to plead for the prelatical scheme.*

One or two incidents more must be added to the causes which concurred to originate the civil wars; and first, the massacre of the Protestants of Ireland. "The British Protestants transplanted into Ireland," says Hume, "having every moment before their eyes all the horrors of Popery, had naturally been carried to the opposite extreme; and had universally adopted the highest principles and practices of the Puritans. Monarchy as well as the hierarchy was become odious to them; and every method of limiting the authority of the Crown, and detaching themselves from the King of England, was greedily adopted and pursued. For the same reasons, the Irish Catholics had become the bitter foes of the English Parliament, and the warm adherents of King Charles. The queen, a zealous Papist, had been informed by the heads of the Irish Papists, with what ease they could seize the control of Ireland, and aid the king against the Puritans. Letters were written in the queen's name, authorizing them to take arms and seize the government." This was all doubtless with the king's concurrence, though there is a dispute whether they had his commission. In the first plotting of this scheme, there was probably no intention of the massacre which followed; that was a subsequent addition of the Irish leaders and priests. From April to October, the English court knew of the intended insurrection; but no information reached the Protestants of Ireland till the very night before which it was to take place; and when the news reached the Commons by an express, every man

* An abler body of divines was probably never assembled among uninspired men. Among its lay members, were Selden, Pym, and Sir Matthew Hale. Among the clergy were Caryl, Calamy, Goodwin, Lightfoot, Prideaux, Reynolds, Usher, Rutherford, Gillespie, besides a multitude of others, whose names would have been sufficient to distinguish the history of any other age. The journal of Lightfoot shows with what thoroughness, freedom, and deliberation every subject was discussed; and with what care and critical minuteness they resorted to the Word of God as the arbiter and end of strife. As to the principles of entire toleration, the Assembly of Divines had not wholly thrown off the shackles of ancient error. They, too, aimed at a compulsive uniformity. But defective as their establishment was, the nation still preferred it to Episcopacy. On this point the testimony of Hume is unequivocal: "Had the jealousy of royal power prevailed so far with the Convention Parliament, as to make them restore the king with strict limitations, *there is no question but the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline had been one of the conditions most rigidly insisted on. Not only that form of ecclesiastical government is more favorable to liberty than royal power; it was likewise, on its own account, agreeable to the House of Commons, and suited their religious principles.* But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general disgust with faction, and the authority of Monk, had prevailed over the jealous project of limitations, the full settlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a necessary and infallible consequence."

was struck dumb with astonishment and horror. The Court evidently meant to betray the Protestants into the hands of the Papists. The castle of Dublin contained arms for 10,000 men, with numerous cannon, and immense military stores; and yet, that it might fall an easy prey, it was left with a guard of no more than fifty men. An Irishman, the night before the rising, betrayed the plot to a friend, and this saved the castle, which proved a shelter to some Protestants during the storm that followed. The Irish, everywhere mingling with the unsuspecting English, at the signal given, fell upon their victims. Not to trust myself with a description, I simply copy from the words of Hume: "A universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless. No age, nor sex, nor condition was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them and perished by the same stroke. * * * In vain did flight save from the first assault. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connexions were dissolved; and death was dealt by the hand from which protection was implored and expected." * * * "But death was the slightest punishment inflicted: all the *tortures* which wanton cruelty could devise; all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty from no cause. * * The weaker sex themselves here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children * * * essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcasses or defenceless children of the English." * * "From Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon, though the Irish in these other provinces pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity. Not content with expelling the English from their homes; with despoiling all their goodly manors; with wasting the cultivated fields; they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out, naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English, hastening towards Dublin and other cities which remained in the hands of their countrymen."

In this massacre, there perished from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand. The surviving English were blocked up in their defences till the "Parliament was at leisure to pour out their vengeance upon the heads of the murderers by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell."

While the Parliament and nation were under the strong feelings excited by these transactions, the king entered an accusation of High Treason against Lord Kimbolton, and five Commons, Hollis, Hazlegrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. A serjeant at arms came to the house, and in the king's name demanded the five members—but in vain. The next day, the king in person, accompanied by some two hundred men with swords, came to seize them, but they had received notice, and were fled. In passing through the streets of London, the next day, Charles was everywhere greeted with the cry of "*Privilege*," "*Privilege*," "*Privilege of Parliament!*" A sturdy yeoman drew near to the royal coach and shouted aloud, "*To your Tents, O Israel!*"

The die was cast. There was no further appeal but to arms. The king collected his forces; and at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, 1642, "he erected his royal standard; the open signal of civil war, throughout the kingdom." Before another sun arose, a dreadful storm had blown that standard down; nor did the raging tempest permit it to be erected again for two days.

It is not my design to pursue the incidents of that war, in which the royal power, and the Hierarchy, fell before the strength of the people; and in which Charles, with the two ministers of his tyrannies, Strafford and Laud, perished on the scaffold. These were stirring times; full of incidents, and full of instruction. But my design is accomplished in having pursued that history so far as to trace the events which mark the history and principles of the Puritans. We might go on to trace the renewal of the old persecutions against the Puritans on the restoration of King Charles II. We might tell of the bloody massacres which he inflicted upon the Scots. We might tell of the "*Corporation Act*," requiring all Magistrates to swear to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; of the "*Act of Uniformity*," by which all ministers, heads of Colleges, and schoolmasters, and every person instructing youth in a private family, were required to declare their unfeigned assent to everything contained in the Prayer-Book, and to all the rites and ceremonies of the established Church; as well as their full assent to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. We might tell of St. Bartholomew's day, in 1662, when two thousand of the ablest and best esteemed clergymen were at once turned out of their livings, for non-conformity.

We might tell of the *Five-mile Act* in 1665, by which all dissenting ministers were forbidden, except upon the road, to come within five miles of any place where they had preached since the act of oblivion. "By ejecting the non-conforming clergy from their churches," says Hume, "and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of any liveli-

hood by their spiritual profession. And now, under color of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence." Multitudes of them pined out their years in prison. We might go on to tell of these things in a long course of injuries which have not wholly ceased down to the present day. Even now, under all the mitigations obtained, the wrongs and indignities inflicted upon the non-conformists of England, are such as Americans would find it impossible to endure. But a detail of these things would be only a repetition of the same conflict of principle, and of the same development of the temper, principles, and tendencies of prelacy, which we have already traced for a course of more than two hundred years; and yet which we have only partly and inadequately portrayed. This part of my work, is, therefore, now done. We return to the principles and polity of the Puritan Churches; and to an examination of the Prelatical claims, as set forth by those who would fain persuade us that we are bound to abandon the principles of our fathers, and to return to the yoke which our fathers detested as more intolerable than banishment or death.

XVIII.

THE RULE AND JUDGE OF FAITH.

Bishop of Connecticut on the Rule of Faith. "The Scriptures as interpreted by the first two centuries." Dr. Jarvis extends it to five centuries; others to seven; to nine; to eighteen. Who to fix the limit? Who to declare the interpretation? Absurdity of the rule. No stable ground between Puritanism and Popery. The Prayer-Book as the interpretation of an interpretation. Impossible to fix the standard of the first two centuries. Episcopalians, on their principles, bound to fix the canons of the Fathers, and to give them to the people. Doctrine of the Bishop of Connecticut contrasted with the doctrine of the Scriptures. The Bible alone the religion of Protestants.

THERE are two or three preliminary questions, involving fundamental principles, which lie back of all questions of Church organization, of discipline, and modes of worship. If, in debating the great question at issue between Puritanism and Prelacy, we make our appeal to the Word of God, even Protestant Prelacy, at the present day, affirms that "*The Bible alone, to the exclusion of all Church AUTHORITY*; * * is no sufficient ground of union and stability."* The Bishop of Connecticut in his recent charge says, that "*The Holy Scriptures AS THEY WERE INTERPRETED BY THE CHURCH during the TWO FIRST CENTURIES, * * constitute THE ONLY SURE BASIS to rest upon.*" Nor does he allow us to go and search those two first centuries for ourselves; oh no; we must take the Church's interpretation of that interpretation, so that our rule is removed two steps back from the Word of God! "*The result,*" he says, "*is FULLY embodied in our book of Common Prayer; a STANDARD of faith; which, he says, 'now stands secure, as the only enduring monument of the Protestant Reformation.'*" The Bible alone as a rule of faith, and the right of a private man to go to the Bible without subjecting his judgment to the interpretations or traditions of the Church, he stigmatizes as among "*The Errors of the Times.*" "The continental Reformers," he says, "went to the extreme of rejecting all TRADITION and CHURCH AUTHORITY." He laments the "schisms," "heresies," "infidelity," "fanaticism," and "dis-

* Bishop Brownell, Charge.

tractions," which have sprung from this rejection. "I need not tell you," he says, "that there are numerous bodies of intelligent and devoted Christians; but without any sufficient bond of union and stability; the Bible alone, to the exclusion of all Church authority, *the Bible alone, without note or comment*, their only standard of faith; and the utmost liberty of private interpretation allowed."

Now in opposition to these views, the Puritan principle (which, indeed, till recently we had supposed the common principle of Protestantism) is, that the Bible alone is the sole and sufficient standard of faith. With regard to the interpretation of that rule we have ever held, that we may search for all the light that can be found in Christian writers, or in profane, modern or ancient, but that we need not—nay, we must not bind our belief to any interpretation, whether of the Church or of councils, doctors, or Fathers; otherwise our faith stands not in the Word of God, but in the opinions of men.*

Let us examine a little, the Prelatic principles as laid down by

* In laying down his doctrine, the bishop makes several false issues. We do not (as he intimates that we do) refuse to investigate "any fact" pertaining to "remote antiquity," by the light of "coteremporary history." But that is not the question; the point at issue is, What at last is the authoritative standard? Is it the Word of God? or must we make a Bible of the Fathers, or rather of the *Prayer-Book*? Is the standard of faith the *Bible alone*; or the Bible as interpreted by the two first centuries; or rather the Bible as interpreted by the *interpretation* of the interpretation of those two centuries; the "results" of which interpretation of an interpretation, it is claimed are now "FULLY" embodied in the "*Prayer-Book*?"

With regard to private judgment the bishop makes one or two false issues more. None of us have ever contended that we may "rightfully" set up "our private judgment" in *opposition* to the Word of God; or that we may "rightly exercise" it "in a spirit of vanity or self-conceit," as though in maintaining the *right* of private judgment, we had maintained the right to exercise that judgment in so reprehensible a mode and spirit! We claim a right to go to the Bible for ourselves, without tradition, or decrees, or interpretations of bishop, council, or Pope; but we claim no right to indulge a spirit of "vanity, perversity, or self-conceit." If the bishop thought these *inuendos argument*, he mistook the question. If he threw them out as correct representations of matters of fact, he did us injustice.

Another position of Bishop Brownell, in this connection, deserves further notice than we can give it here. We hold, that for the conscientious exercise of our private judgment in matters of faith, we are responsible only to conscience and to God.

The bishop holds that we are responsible, not only to God, but in a minor degree "to our fellow-men." He says that "we may not rightly exercise [viz. our private judgment in matters of faith], *in a way injurious to the order and peace of society; nor without a due veneration for the judgment of the Church and its ministry.*"—(*Charge*, p. 7.) So thought Bishop Bonner; and he did hold the private conscience and judgment *responsible to man*. He carried out the idea to its legitimate consequences. The Pope has ever thought that such heretics as the Albigenses, Waldenses, and Huguenots, exercised their judgment "in a way injurious to the peace and order of society," and "without due veneration for the judgment of the Church;" and doubtless he thinks the same of us, and of the Bishop of Connecticut too. But will the Bishop of Connecticut allow the Pope to hold us "*responsible*?" If so, to whom are we "responsible?" Who may call us to an account for exercising our private judgment in matters of faith, "without due veneration for the judgment of the Church and its ministry?"

Bishop Brownell; that "The Holy Scriptures, as they were interpreted by the Church during the two first centuries, * * constitute the only sure basis to rest upon."

I. *On what principle, or by what authority does he fix the limit at the first two centuries?* If, because those centuries were pure and others were not, then does he set his private judgment above his standard; JUDGING THOSE CENTURIES *whether they were pure*. And by *what* RULE does he judge them? By the Bible? But he cannot *interpret* the Bible till he has first fixed its meaning on the authorities of those two centuries, i. e., till he has first proved his *standard* by the *thing which it is to measure*! He, therefore, has no ultimate standard, unless he will either set up his private judgment as infallible, or consent to repose in the supreme infallibility of the Church, or of the Pope.

Thus he lays the foundation of his scheme in an ineffable absurdity, and imposes upon himself the necessity of rearing its superstructure in mazes and self-contradictions without end.

But in fixing the limit at *two* centuries, the bishop has an account to settle with his more learned presbyter. Dr. Jarvis extends the limit *three hundred years* further.* The bishop in his charge considers the Prayer-Book as a *fixed* and *certain* standard; not to be varied and invariable. Dr. Jarvis boldly avows † that neither is the Episcopal Church established in its "ancient customs and privileges," nor in "the doctrines of the Scriptures according to the consentient interpretation of Catholic antiquity;" nor in "government, discipline, and ritual:" that "The intention of the reformers was hindered from being fully carried out by opposition, first of the Papists, and afterwards of the Puritans;" and that "IT REMAINS *for us* [the Episcopal Church] *with tranquillity and patience to PURSUE the great and true principles of the English Reformation;*" which, he says, "are reducible to three heads: 1st. To *recover* the original customs and privileges of the British Church. 2d. To *restore* the *doctrines*, &c. 3d. To *bring back* the government, discipline, and ritual, to the general analogy of practice at the time of *the fourth general council, OR MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.*" The first two centuries will not do. The standard of faith, ritual, and discipline, is not *fixed* in the Prayer-Book, as the bishop fondly thought; but as his learned presbyter assures us, Prayer-Book, ritual, and doctrine are all yet out of their longitude by three hundred years, and that a work of "*restoring, recovering, and bringing back,*" yet "*remains*" to be "*pursued*" with "*tranquillity and patience.*" The Episcopal Church is, therefore, yet afloat, and whither it will yet drift, can any mortal tell, unless we may conjecture by

* "Address to Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church: or, No Union with Rome, dated 'Festival of St. Bartholomew, 1843.'"

† Ibid.

the drift of the current, which is now so strongly and manifestly setting toward Rome?

"*Quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?*" How determine where to rest? How shall they decide where to fix the landmark? It is not in the Bible alone. It is not in the Prayer-Book. It is not in the first two centuries. Some say, with Dr. Jarvis, it is in the middle of the Fifth. Some say it is at the end of the *Sixth* General Council, or at the end of seven centuries. Others place it at the point of division between the Eastern and Western Churches; which point, again, some assign to the seventh century, others to the *ninth*. Others still, like Bishop Doane, Mr. Newman, and Dr. Pusey, declare that it embraces the whole eighteen centuries.—"The Holy Scriptures, as Catholic antiquity has revealed, and as Catholic consent has kept their meaning."*

But suppose the limits finally established, whether it be at two, seven, or nine, or eighteen centuries; then,

II. *Who is to declare, or interpret the interpretations of those two, five, seven, or nine, or eighteen centuries?* Private judgment, surely, will find it more difficult to interpret those interpretations than the Word of God. Or if the *Church* is the authoritative interpreter, then who is to declare the interpretation of the Church? Is it the Pope? Councils? Each individual bishop? The bishops of each province or country—so that what is the *true* interpretation of Catholic antiquity in France, Spain, Austria, and Italy, shall be a *false* interpretation of the same in these United States? Or if the power of interpreting resides in no particular Pope, or council, or bishop, and in no house of bishops, but in *Catholic consent*,—who has that consent? Bishop Brownell, in his Charge, says that the creed of his Church expresses its belief in "*One Catholic and Apostolic Church*," and declares that the expression imports that there is "*but one Church*." He talks about an "*Identity*" with this Church. He distinctly recognizes the Roman Church as a part of that one Catholic Church. If, therefore, the Protestant Episcopal and the Roman Churches are equally constituent parts of that one Catholic Church, which party may be presumed to have the "*Catholic consent*" that constitutes the authoritative interpretation of the interpretation of the two centuries? Does that consent and that right lie with the twenty-one bishops, or with the twenty-one hundred? Does it lie with the little party in England and the United States, setting up their interpretation for three hundred years: or does it lie with the great party in Italy, Austria, Ireland, France, Spain, and Portugal, who not only symbolize with the great Eastern Churches in the points on which these differ

* Cited in New Englander, Jan., 1844, p. 70

from the Protestant Episcopalians in England and the United States, but who hold the doctrines which confessedly prevailed over Europe for a thousand years before the Reformation? On Bishop Brownell's own principles, I do not see why he is not bound to renounce all Protestantism as a wicked schism and heresy, and to hasten back, as fast as he can, to Rome.

There is still another question: How many of these twenty-one* American bishops are entitled to a seat in the conclave, which might be supposed to sit in determining the *American* interpretation of the first two centuries, even if such an interpretation might be supposed to determine the Catholic consent; and it is a difficulty which those who depend upon the *valid sacraments* of a ministry of the *true Apostolical succession*, would do well to examine, lest they should find themselves, after all, baptized, confirmed, and fed by hands without any *valid* authority or efficiency. It is this: It is the undoubted doctrine of all prelatists, that *there can be but one bishop having authority in the same territorial diocese at the same time.*† Now, Popish bishops are regarded by our Protestant Episcopalians as true bishops; and when a presbyter ordained by them enters the Episcopal Church, according to canon, and in actual practice, he is not re-ordained. But on the 6th of October, 1789, Pope Pius VII. erected the United States into a bishopric, and appointed "John Carroll, an ancient Jesuit" (as the record says), its bishop. At this time there was a Protestant Bishop in Connecticut, another in New York, and another in Pennsylvania; but the rest of the ground had no bishop. On the principles of Episcopacy, it was all missionary, or heathen ground. In a National Convention for determining the "Catholic assent," save in these three States, the Protestant Bishops must be regarded as mere usurpers. Is this doubted? Hear, then, authority, which those concerned are not *allowed* to doubt. *Cyprian* declares it "contrary to law, for two bishops to preside together in the same city." This also was determined on by the *Council of Nice*, and became a settled proverb, "One God, one Christ, one Bishop," two bishops being, as *Theodoret* testifies, infamous. So that whoever is made a bishop in any given territory after the first, is not a second bishop, but no bishop at all. Let those who have passed under the hands of the Protestant bishops in the vast majority of these United States, take care. What right has Bishop Whittingham in Maryland, where there was even a popish archbishop before him?‡ What right has Bishop Kemper in Missouri? or McCoskry in Michigan? or Smith in Kentucky? or Polk in Louisiana?

* A. D. 1843.

† See Chapin's Primitive Church, dedicated to Bp. Brownell.

‡ It is not for those to gainsay this appointing of a bishop to foreign unoccupied territory, who have so recently made a bishop for Texas.

or Chase in Illinois? Over these fields the Roman bishops had already extended their jurisdiction. The Popish title is, therefore, on the prelatical principle, indefeasible in these dioceses; and all the doings of the Protestant prelates, absolutely void and null; and *their* voices can weigh nothing in the supposed convention for determining the *Catholic consent*.

Now I do maintain, in all soberness, that if we are to depend upon *Church authority* to interpret the interpretations of the first two centuries, we can, with no manner of consistency or reason, stop with *Protestant* Episcopacy. We cannot linger on the road with Bishops Whittingham and Doane, and the Tractarians. We shall not palter with Romish principles, and still call ourselves Protestant, like the Bishop of Connecticut. We must go directly to Rome, whither these principles inevitably tend.

Waiving all these difficulties, however, and supposing the Prayer-Book of two countries, and of three hundred years—and not the Mass-Books of many countries, for a thousand years—to be the authoritative interpretation of the interpretation of the first two centuries,—then,

III. *Even that standard, the Prayer-Book, has proved no ground of quietness and repose, but is even now the ground of turmoil and of war.* While all parties praise it, the system of doctrines which the Evangelical and the Puseyistic parties draw from that standard, are fundamentally and irreconcilably opposed. Several of the bishops have denounced the latter scheme as “another Gospel;” while several others as openly avow and as strenuously defend it.* Nothing is more notorious than that the body of the clergy and people of the Episcopal Church no longer hold, but utterly reject some of the doctrines unequivocally set forth in the Thirty-Nine Articles. Thus the Seventeenth Article clearly teaches the final *perseverance* of all the elect: and so it was *authoritatively* interpreted in the Fifth of the celebrated Lambeth Articles: “The true, lively, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God, *doth not utterly fail, doth not vanish away in the elect, either finally or totally.*” Such was the doctrine of the Church: yet the Bishop of Connecticut says, in his Charge (p. 22), “The idea of a perseverance in grace is popularly connected with a change of heart; and it is hence inferred, that if a person is regenerated in baptism, his salvation is secured: but the Church holds no such doctrine.”

* * * “But the grace vouchsafed in baptism *may be misimproved and lost.*” King James not only sent the Lambeth Articles to the Synod of Dort, as the authoritative interpretation of the Church of England, but he declared one who held to the

* See “The Churchman,” and “Protestant Churchman.” See also Bishop McIlvaine’s elaborate and admirable exposure of the Popery of Puseyism; see also the testimony of Dr. Milnor, and of the Bishop of Calcutta.

notion of *falling from grace, to be "worthy of the fire."* Dr. Wainwright, in his recent letters, earnestly denounces the dogmas of election and reprobation; and declares the Episcopal doctrine to be, "*The system of free grace and of salvation within the reach of all:*" "The gates are continually open to every man," * * "to which no man is admitted, and from which no man is excluded, by any unconditional decree of the Almighty." Would any man imagine that Dr. Wainwright belonged to that Church, which puts forth as fundamental in its scheme of faith, these words of the Tenth Article: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam, is such, that *he cannot turn and prepare himself* by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore *we have no power* to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God." Would any one dream that Dr. Wainwright belonged to that Church, which so absolutely sets forth the doctrine of *absolute predestination* in its seventeenth Article; and which declares that doctrine to be full of sweet and *pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons?*" Dr. Wainwright's private judgment will not do here; nor must Bishop Brownell trust his own. The Church authoritatively interpreted these Articles, by the Articles of Lambeth; in which she declares, that "God hath from Eternity predestinated certain persons to life; and reprobated certain persons to death." This predestination and reprobation, the Articles make *absolute, unconditional, and utterly irreversible.*

Now all this war of Puseyism and Evangelism—this discordant interpretation of the same standard in different ages, comes most naturally from the setting up of human standards as a safer authority than the Word of God. If the Bible needs interpreting, much more does the Prayer-Book need interpreting. If the first, though the *perfect* Word of God, affords grounds for difference in the interpretation, how much more must differences arise in interpreting an extended work of poor ignorant and erring man? Thus, while that Church boasts of her stability as possessed of a standard so much safer than the Word of God, she becomes like him of old, of whom it was said, "*Unstable as water, he shall not excel.*" Nor is it possible to fix this floating and Protean standard on the principle of authoritative interpretation. Suppose the next General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church possessed of entire authority, to give a decision between the conflicting interpretations of Evangelism and Puseyism; suppose their results should be, no commingled and equivocal compromise between the two parties, as it is to be expected,* but a plain, straightforward document, intending finally to settle the meaning of the Standards: if that decision shall sustain the Puseyistic views, will the Bishops of Vermon

* The General Convention has met, and this expectation has been fulfilled.

and Ohio conclude to receive that as the *true* Gospel which they have so earnestly and solemnly declared *another* Gospel? Or should *their* views prevail, will Bishops Doane and Whittingham surrender to that, the faith for which they have so strenuously contended as the doctrine of ancient Catholic consent? But suppose the General Convention to agree in a definitive interpretation: *Who is to interpret the General Convention?* Here is a circuitous way of coming at the standard of faith: God has given his pure and perfect Word, by which all things are to be measured, and which is to be measured by none. "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this Book." Is that book, then, the ultimate standard? Is the Bible alone, without note or comment, a "sufficient bond of union and stability?" O no! We are told that we must "add unto" it the interpretation of the "first two centuries!" Unfortunately, at the Reformation, there is a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the first two centuries; and the bishops of a little province set up their interpretations against the bishops of the Catholic World, and against the "Catholic consent" for a thousand years! To what do they appeal? To the Bible *alone*? Do they then allow the right of *private judgment*? Alas! the Continental Reformers, says Bishop Brownell, "went to that *extreme* of rejecting all tradition and Church authority" (and so did the British Reformers too): but *now* he will have it that the Bible *alone* is no sufficient standard, nor must private judgment set itself up against the judgments of the *Church*. Is the little handful of Protestant bishops, for this purpose, *the Church*? But suppose they are;—they fundamentally disagree. Who is to interpret them? Oh, the General Convention! Who now is to interpret the General Convention? Where, on this principle, is the ground, on which—to adopt the language of Bishop Brownell—"wearied with perpetual agitation and changes," we may "find rest and repose?" Instead of repose, another element of discord is thrown into the hurly-burly, by interposing still another interpretation of an interpretation, which was originally but an interpretation of an interpretation, of the interpretation which the first two centuries gave of the Word of God! The difficulties are multiplied in the duplicate ratio of the number of removes from the original standard; and by what shall we adjust them now? By the Bible? What, by the Bible *alone*; and by private judgment, without reference to *tradition*, or the *authority of the Church*? O no—this is the Puritan ground, which the bishop so earnestly rejects. He must take his choice, then, of the only two alternatives that remain: these difficulties are to be settled either by the infallibility of the Pope; or they are to abide the decision of

some future interpretation, which yet depends upon one more remotely future, and that remote future upon another future; and so on, till the Day of Doom. If we take neither of these last alternatives, then we are driven conclusively to private judgment: and then, if we take not the Bible alone as the sole and sufficient standard, we must chase the shadow of the shadow of an ignis fatuus, and follow it whithersoever it may chance to fly, through swamps and quagmires, with no possibility of being able to plant our feet at last upon solid ground. THERE IS NO POSSIBLE GROUND TO REST UPON HERE, BETWEEN PURITANISM AND POPERY. *Dr. Jarvis*, indeed, sets forth* as a "glorious object of an American Christian's contemplation, "A GREAT AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, equally removed from the extremes of Popery and Protestantism." He has a very pleasing argument to show that "if ever the broken parts of Christ's body come together" it must be "not upon the extremes, but in the middle." He will find it a hard matter, however, when he has leaped from the brink of Niagara, to stop half-way down. The experiment, as well as the philosophy of the thing, in the other case shows, that HE WHO ONCE ABANDONS HIS FOOTING ON THE ROCK OF GOD, MUST EXPECT TO GO TO THE BOTTOM. Bishop Brownell, in his charge, speaks of "repose and stability" in the Episcopal "Standards of Faith" and "primitive forms of worship." Repose? Here is no possibility of repose! Here is no bottom; no shore: but

"A dark
Illimitable ocean without bound."
"Chaos umpire sits,
And by decision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns; next him, high arbiter
CHANCE governs all."

Those who have fled to *Church traditions* and *interpretations*, and to *Church authority*, hoping to find repose in these, rather than on the basis of God's Word alone, have already begun to discover that it is time to remove once more to the bosom of an older mother. There is no rest to *such* lovers of repose, save in the infallibility of Rome.†

* Address to members of Prot. Epis. Church.

† Mr. Newman began on this point with affirming antiquity to be a much more stable and inflexible guide than the Word of God. "A private Christian," said he, "may put what meaning he pleases upon parts of SCRIPTURE, and none can hinder him."

* * * "But we cannot so deal with ANTIQUITY. Antiquity does not allow scope for the off-hand or capricious decisions of private judgment." [Mr. Newman has (two years since the above was written) taken refuge in the infallibility of Rome. If the Bishop of Connecticut does not go there too, it will be because he follows neither his principle nor the logic by which he sustains it.] But it was not long ere a brother Tractarian discovered that it was as hard to interpret antiquity, as to interpret the Bible. "Is not private judgment," said he, "as apt to mislead in the interpretation of antiquity, as in that of Scripture?" He comes to the conclusion that, after

IV. *It is impossible to fix the standards of the first two centuries.*

The *Bible* is complete: given by inspiration of God, and by his signal providence preserved. Its canon is fixed and unalterable. The Prayer-Book, it is true, yet orders parts of the Apocrypha to be read on certain saints' days: but Protestants appear now to be agreed that the Apocrypha is no part of the Word of God. The canon of the Bible is therefore fixed; but no research has been able wholly to separate the spurious writings attributed to the Fathers, from the true. Whole epistles and treatises have been forged: alterations and interpolations have been made, for the purpose of favoring the corruptions of Rome. There was opportunity to do this; these writings, never having been received as the Word of God, were never extensively translated and spread abroad. For ages, many of them were laid aside, time out of mind; and, from time to time, dug out of the dust, and brought to light. It is not two centuries since one of the oldest of them all, that of Clemens Romanus, was dug from the dust, after having been lost and unknown for a thousand years. That oblivion was its protection from the mutilations, the changes, and interpolations, which were inextricably mingled up with such works as monks and priests were able to lay their hands upon. As different works attributed to the Fathers were brought to light,

all, THE JUDGMENT OF THE CHURCH (not the Bible, nor antiquity) is to be the rule of faith. "We have in no way maintained," says he, "that an ordinary religious inquirer would have any chance of discovering for himself the truth, by his personal study of the Fathers." Here we have it: Popery at full length; the result wrapped up in the principle of Bishop Brownell; though he seems not to be aware of it; and would doubtless, at this stage of his progress, be frightened by a full view of this awful progeny of his own principles. But the Oxford Tractarian—more far-seeing, or more consistent—manfully embraces the conclusion. "We have no hesitation," says he, "in speaking of resorting to Church history in the manner we do, as the result of our degraded position. In the time of Augustine, or St. Thomas Aquinas, it would be a matter of conscientious inquiry whether they should follow the Church's instructions, as in our days, with infants, whether they shall believe what their parents teach them." Here we have it in full. The Bible is no safe standard: private judgment is not to be trusted with the Fathers; we must FOLLOW THE CHURCH'S INSTRUCTIONS: away with the Bible; away with the Fathers; away with private judgment: give us sprigs of living infallibility; and as these will make a Babel of their diverse interpretations, let us have that infallibility concentrated and made of one speech in a POPE.

"It is a hopeful sign," says Goode, "that we have at last got to the second stage of the controversy, when our opponents are quitting the Fathers, and making the best of their way, in various directions, AFTER THE CHURCH." * * * "And the next question will no doubt be: How are we to get introduced to the Church? Whether by the Pope himself; or whether the good offices of any individual priest will do? And if by the Pope, whether by the Pope in the chair, or whether the Pope out of the chair, will do? or whether it must be a Pope and General Council? &c, &c." "The contest is between Reformation Truth and Reformation Principles on the one hand, and Romish Principles and Romish Truth on the other."

On the system of Bishop Brownell, the Church is made a co-ordinate authority with God; her interpretations are a rule, not simply co-ordinate with the Word of Jehovah, but a rule paramount to that Word; since her interpretations fix and govern its meaning. The system is *Church-anity* rather than Christianity; and its advocates very appropriately and consistently prefer the style of *Church-men* to that of *Christian*.

the corruptions were gradually detected. False dates, allusions to events of later years, words and phrases unknown to the Fathers, and indicative of a later age, detected many entire forgeries, which, after having been relied upon for centuries, were at length given up by the entire Christian world. In most that remain, we have not the originals; but only fragments, quoted in writers of a later date. To this day, the genuine writings, and the genuine readings of those supposed in the main to be genuine, are unsettled: learned men of all communions still holding them in debate.

Besides this, the early Fathers, in their writings, which are allowed to be genuine, betray gross unsoundness, erring and mistaking in many of the clearest and most indubitable principles of the Word of God. Crudities, errors of judgment and of ignorance, fables, a mingling of Christianity with the various fond tenets of the philosophy prevalent in their respective countries and ages, have greatly marred their expositions of divine truth. They conflicted with each other. Origen, the most learned of the ancient Fathers, adopted principles of interpretation which all denominations in the world reprobate at the present day. He actually mutilated his own body, because the Saviour had said, "Some have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake." It seems as though Christ had intended, not only to warn us against reliance upon the Fathers, by charging us to "*call no man master*;" but that God by his Providence intended to beat us off from this reliance, by confounding the builders of such a Babel, even in the days of those who had seen the Apostles. Even so early it became a question, on what time they should keep Easter. Both sides pleaded with confidence that *their* tradition was apostolical. Polycarp pleaded that he had been acquainted with the Apostle John. Anicetus of Rome pleaded that he had his tradition from the Apostle Peter. Here were the Fathers only one remove from the Apostles, on a plain matter of fact. And yet, says Stillingfleet, "So great were the heats, so irreconcilable the controversy, that they proceeded to hurl the thunder of excommunication in each other's faces; and at length Victor, in the spirit of a Pope, excommunicated all the Churches of Asia, for differing as to this tradition. The small coals of this contention kindled a whole *Ætna* of contention in all the Christian world."

Now what was good in the so called Fathers we readily approve. Let them pass for witnesses of facts which came under their own observation; let them, if they please, testify as to their opinions; but if we must measure the doctrine of "an Apostle or of an angel from Heaven" by the Word of God, how much more must we measure the opinion of the Fathers? We cannot receive as the *standard* that which *we are presently to PROVE*

by another measure. This difficulty would remain, even if we could separate what is genuine in the Fathers from that which is spurious.

V. *If the standard of faith is to be the Bible as interpreted by the first two centuries, then the Episcopal authorities are as much to be blamed for not fixing upon the authentic writings of these two centuries, establishing their canon, and giving them to the people, as the popish Prelates are for withholding from the people the Bible.* Nay, more so; for on this scheme the "*Bible alone*," as the "*only standard faith*," is "*no sufficient bond of union or stability*;" nay, it leads to "*error, heresies, disunion, and confusion*" without end!" Miserable people that have not the *ultimate* standard in their hands; without which the Bible is so insufficient and so erring a guide! Unfaithful prelates that give not even a *translation*; no, nor a poor *abstract*, or *epitome*; no, nothing but a poor weak *decoction* or *infusion* of the *fathers*, such as happens to be *sprinkled*, we know not where, upon the pages of the Prayer-Book! The people should either demand that the Bible shall be accompanied by the Fathers of the first two centuries, authentic, unmutilated, uninterpolated, so that they may search the standard of faith for themselves, or they should renounce the name of Protestants, and be content with the traditions of the Fathers, as set forth and interpreted second-hand by the traditions of the priests. But what Episcopal layman or clergyman pretends that he can accurately fix the canon of the Fathers of the first two centuries? Has Bishop Brownell himself ever read all those interpretations of the first two centuries, or can he, for his life, draw the line between the spurious and the true? No well informed man on earth will have the impudence to pretend that this can be done. Let us then hear no more about Popish abominations. The extravagance of Romish infallibility is sober reason compared with this specimen of Protestant Episcopal folly touching the standard of faith.*

* From this dreary waste of error and absurdity, it is refreshing to turn back to the words of good old Bishop Hooper, who sealed his faith in the flames, in the days of the Popish Mary. "In the Blessed Virgin's time, the *Pharisees and Bishops* were accounted the *TRUE CHURCH*; yet by reason their doctrine was corrupt, the true Church rested not with them, but in Simeon, Zachary, the shepherds, and others. So, Paul teaches us that whosoever he be that preaches another doctrine than the Word of God, he is not to be accredited though he were an angel from Heaven. * * The *adversaries of truth* defend many a false error under the name of *HOLY CHURCH* * * and when the Church is named, we ought diligently to consider *when* the Articles they would defend were accepted of the Church, by *whom*, and who was the *author* of them, and not leave the matter till it is brought unto the first original and most perfect Church of the *Apostles*. If you find by their writings that the Church used the thing which the preacher would prove, accept it, or else not. Be not amazed though they speak of ever so many years; or name ever so many doctors. CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES ARE GRANDFATHERS IN AGE TO THE DOCTORS AND MASTERS IN LEARNING. Fear neither the ordinary power or succession of bishops, nor that of the greater part. For if either the authority of Bishops or of the greater part should have power to interpret the Scriptures; the sentence of the

VI. *What say the Scriptures themselves concerning the question in hand?* "The law of the Lord is PERFECT, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is SURE, MAKING WISE THE SIMPLE." Thus speaks the Word of God. Oh no! says the man with a surplice and mitre from Rome: not "*perfect*," nor "*sure*," but *mischievous* without the infallible interpretations of the Church; the Church can do better by taking the testimony of the Lord away. And thereupon the Protestant Bishop of Connecticut raises his voice. "The Bible alone!" "The Bible without note or comment!" "To the exclusion of all tradition and Church authority!" It is no sufficient "bond of union or stability!" And thereupon he rings the changes, "Heresies," "Infidelity," "Fanaticism."

But hear again the Word of God: "O how love I thy law! It is my meditation all the day. Thou, through thy commandments, hast made me wiser than mine enemies: for they are ever with me. *I have more understanding than all my teachers; for thy testimonies are my meditation. I have more understanding than the ancients* (alas, what a heresy this would be in the eyes of the Tractarians, if it were not in the Bible! But so it reads.) *I HAVE MORE UNDERSTANDING THAN THE ANCIENTS, because I keep thy precepts,*" "THY WORD is a lamp to my feet, and a light to my path."

We had supposed that "*The Bible alone*" was "*the Religion of Protestants.*" We had humbly supposed it a sufficient and perfect guide, "given by inspiration of God,"—that "the man of God may be THOROUGHLY FURNISHED" with that which is "able to make him wise unto salvation." We had supposed that whoever were our teacher, we were still to "search the Scriptures," "to see whether these things are so." We turn to the History of the World; and though some have "wrested the Scriptures to their own destruction," yet the History of the World has not shown for any two hundred years, so real and unwaver-

Pharisees should have been preferred before the sentence of Zacharias, Simeon, Elizabeth, or the Blessed Virgin. * * Remember that the gift of interpretation of Scripture, is the light of the Holy Ghost given unto the humblest penitent persons, that seek it only to honor God; and not unto that person who claims it by title or place, because he is a bishop, or followed by succession, Peter or Paul. *Examine their laws by the Scripture*, and then perceive that they are the enemies of Christ's Church, and the very Church of Korah. REMEMBER THEREFORE TO EXAMINE ALL KINDS OF DOCTRINE BY THE WORD OF GOD. As touching the ministers of the Church, I BELIEVE THAT THE CHURCH IS BOUND TO NO SORT OF *people* OR ANY ORDINARY SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS, CARDINALS, OR SUCH LIKE, BUT UNTO THE WORD OF GOD ONLY."

The language of Hooper was the common language of the Reformers. Says Jewel, "*There is no way so easy to beguile the simple as the name and countenance of the Fathers.*" "I see plainly," says Chillingworth, "and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, *some fathers against others; a consent of fathers of one age* against the consent of the fathers of another age; the Church of one age against the Church of another age; traditive interpretations of Scripture are pretended, but there are few or none to be found. * * In a word, *there is no sufficiency but of the Scripture only, for any considering man to build upon.*"

ing a uniformity in the belief of the simple and fundamental doctrines of grace, as has been found among the several denominations who receive the Bible alone as the sole and sufficient standard of faith and duty. With all their conflicts on minor points, there has been in fundamentals, more than anywhere else, *One Faith, and one Lord*. Freedom of thought, and free discussion, have caused at times sharp controversy; error deserves it; truth is worth it: but in all, the truth has gained. Some have apostatised: but the Bible is before them, and no superior authority binds their consciences to retain the error. Let the vast corruptions of a thousand years; let the corruptions now rising and spreading within the communion paled in and fenced by Church interpretations and Church authority, decide, whether, within such fences, these apostates would have done any better. "There must be heresies," says the Word of God, "that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." The great mass have remained firm: the more firm from the discussions to which these heresies have given rise. "*The sword of the Spirit*" is not the interpretations of the Church, but "*The Word of God*." If you would repress heresy, leave that sword unsheathed. A pious prayerful soul may be trusted with that; a wilful heretic will not be put down with a human decree or canon. Bind not up the thoughtful inquirer to believe on the authority of human interpretations and canons, lest his faith rest on the wisdom of man, rather than on the Word of God. Rear up fences of forms, interpretations, and decrees; and you may perpetuate your own folly; you may thrust your wisdom between the soul and the authority of God; you may arrogate to yourself the authority of conservator over the understanding of future generations, as well as of God's Holy Truth;—but you may at the same time perpetuate heresy and darkness, and lay the foundations of a spiritual bondage under which your children's children may groan in hopeless misery. But let a continent sink in error; let ten thousand times ten thousand blinded priests conspire to hold them in bondage; yet throw these fences down, and send forth one living man with "the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God;"—and darkness and superstition will flee before him. That sword of the Spirit which is the most powerful to conquer, is most powerful to defend. Give us this, and let error take the field; let Satan come in subtlety or in wrath; and we have wherewithal to quench his fiery darts. But remove the faith of the people *one step* from the Word of God, and try to fence it round by human decrees and forms, and the incipient apostasy has begun its march; the mystery of iniquity is at work; nothing but the special providence of God can prevent Anti-christ from being, in time, fully developed and revealed.

XIX.

ON THE ALLEGED RIGHT TO IMPOSE LITURGIES AND CEREMONIES.

Illustrated by the Doctrines of Holy Alliance. Enormities in practice. Necessarily a system of usurpation and persecution. Natural rights of Christian congregations. Plea of uniformity. The question not of the expediency of a Liturgy, but of the right to impose one. Canons of American Episcopacy. Limits of Church power.

ANOTHER fundamental principle which demands discussion, separate from all consideration of Church organization, or modes of discipline and worship, is *the alleged right to frame Liturgies and devise ceremonies for the worship of God ; to forbid Christians to celebrate public worship in any other mode ; and to enforce these Liturgies and ceremonies by penalties, either civil or ecclesiastical.*

The importance of this topic will be better appreciated by a reference to some instances of parallel usurpations in civil affairs. Such a reference will show what fundamental principles are worth ; and how many seeds of despotism, mischief, and woe, may be wrapped up in a seemingly innocent line.

Those who are old enough to remember the campaign of Bonaparte in Russia, will call to mind the famous HOLY ALLIANCE formed by several of the crowned heads of Europe. Its object was, professedly, the peace and stability of the European nations. "The world," says Daniel Webster, "seems to have received this treaty upon its first promulgation, with general charity. It was commonly understood, as little or nothing more than an expression of thanks for the successful termination of the momentous contest in which these sovereigns had been engaged."* "In the name of the Most Holy Trinity," said their manifesto, "their Majesties solemnly declare, that the present act has no other object than to publish in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for

* Speech on the Greek Revolution.

their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion—namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace—which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections.”

All this appeared vastly well. It is probable that they were sincere; and that Alexander, at least, the great soul of the Alliance, was actuated by the most beneficent motives.

This Alliance, then, was made to keep the peace of Europe; and to enforce that peace and the observance of the principles of justice and Christianity among nations (in the language of Webster), “*by a million and a half of bayonets.*”

But now there arose a momentous question: What do these princes deem to be “the principles of Christianity and justice,” with regard to human governments? Oh! the Divine Right of Kings: and the absolute destitution of all political rights on the part of the people! It was not long before they revealed the principles on which their conduct was to be governed. The first principle they put forth was in these words: “*All popular or constitutional rights are holden no otherwise than as grants from the crown.*” “Society,” says Webster, “upon this principle, has no rights of its own: it takes good government when it can get it, as a boon and a concession; but can demand nothing. It is to live in that favor which emanates from regal authority; and if it have the misfortune to lose that favor, there is nothing to protect it against any degree of injustice and oppression. It can rightfully make no endeavor for a change by itself. * * * All its duty is described in the single word SUBMISSION.”

The Holy Alliance was not slow to draw the same conclusion. In the Laybach Circular, of May, 1821, they declared, “*That useful and necessary changes in legislation ought to emanate from the free will and intelligent conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power; and that all that deviate from this line, necessarily tend to disorder, commotions, and evils, far more insupportable than those which they pretended to remedy.*”

On this principle, the English Barons who, six hundred years ago, after suffering from the intolerable tyranny of King John, sword in hand, wrested the Great Charter from that infamous king at Runnimeade,—were entirely to blame! If the Holy Alliance had existed then, it would have put the Barons down. The king had a divine right to rule the English; responsible only to God: and they must submissively wait till the tyrant should grow kind.

Our notions of freedom are such as to make the very name of *charter* and *liberties*, in the English sense, a reproach. Our

franchises we hold by no kingly charter: nor do we hold these as *liberties*, but as RIGHTS which we will VINDICATE,—not *ask as a favor* from any power below that of God. “I need not stop,” says Webster, “to observe how totally hostile are these doctrines of Laybach, to the fundamental principles of *our* government. They are in direct contradiction; the principles of good and evil are hardly more opposite. If these principles of the sovereigns be true, we are but in a state of rebellion, or of anarchy, and are only tolerated among civilized states, because it has not yet been convenient to conform us to the true standard.”

The Holy Alliance pursued the principle to its legitimate issue. They declared that “*The Powers*” [the Alliance] “*have an undoubted right to take a hostile attitude in regard to those states in which the overthrow of the government may operate as an example.*”

“There cannot,” says Webster, “be conceived a more flagrant violation of public *law*, or national independence, than is contained in this short declaration.” * * “No matter what be the character of the government resisted; no matter with what weight the foot of the oppressor bears on the neck of the oppressed; if he struggle, or if he complain, he sets a dangerous example of resistance; and from that moment he becomes an object of hostility to the most powerful potentates of the earth. *I want words to express my abhorrence of this abominable principle.* I trust every enlightened man throughout the world will oppose it; and that especially those who, like ourselves, are fortunately out of the reach of the bayonets that enforce it, will proclaim their detestation of it both loud and decisive.”

But why this outcry at a mere abstract principle? On that principle depends the movement of a million and a half of bayonets; and the question of despotism or freedom throughout the globe. That principle soon awoke to vigorous life. The people of Spain, worn out with inquisitorial cruelties and grinding oppression, rose in their might, and established a Constitution. The bayonets of France, as the instruments of the Alliance, advanced across the Pyrenees and put that Constitution down. Greece rose against the bloody rule of the Turks. When the revolution broke out, the sovereigns were in Congress at Laybach, and declared “*their abhorrence of those criminal combinations which had been formed in the eastern part of Europe.*” “The practical commentary,” says Webster, “corresponded with the plain language of the text. Look at Spain. Look at Greece. If men may not resist the Spanish Inquisition, and the Turkish Cimeter, what is there to which humanity must not submit? Stronger cases can never arise.”

The butchery of the Turks was too horrid: nature cried out

against the doctrine of the Holy Alliance. The genius of England prevailed. The Turkish authority was broken: but mark; —'The Greeks must not be free! The republics of Greece restored in the midst of despotic Europe! O no: they must have a king. A weak, wrong-headed boy, a scion of some legitimate succession, must be set to reign over the high-spirited republican Greeks!

The Holy Alliance turned their thoughts to the insurrectionary provinces of South America, and their bayonets would have re-established there the authority of Spain: but Great Britain would not be a partner in the crime; the fleets of Britain were to be encountered on the sea; and beyond, lay that Young Republic, whose chief magistrate had in his message intimated the determination of the people, that on *this* continent such things must not be done.

The principle of the Holy Alliance reached even to the evil example of our Revolution, and of our Republican Institutions: nor is there room to question, that not their good will, nor their forbearance, but the good hand of God, and the difficulty of the undertaking, kept the Holy Alliance from sending their bayonets to set up a monarchy in this American land. They did not believe that any government established and wielded by the *people* could be *VALID*. They did not believe that there could lawfully be "A STATE WITHOUT A KING."

So much for a *principle*. The illustration has been long; but not too long for its importance.

How does the illustration apply to the case in hand? *The Church*, alias the Hierarchy, set up a claim, not only to be the *judge of faith with authority paramount to all rights of private judgment; but they claim also a right to frame liturgies, and ceremonies, for the worship of God, and to impose the same upon all Christians*. I say—UPON ALL CHRISTIANS. Whoever, being within the pale of that Church, presumes to worship God in public in any other way, is ecclesiastically punished, or cast out. Whatever bodies of Christians presume to worship God, without submitting to this Hierarchy, and to its liturgies and ceremonies, they are regarded as wicked schismatics; and with their ministers are held up to abhorrence as followers of Korah. In this principle, and in this line of conduct, Episcopalians both Popish and Protestant, with some honorable exceptions fully agree.

This principle has been tried on a vast scale, and for a period of more than a thousand years. And what has been the result? A despotism a thousand times more iron-handed and bloody than that of the Holy Alliance. What mummeries; what false doctrines; what idolatrous rites; what prayers to the saints and

the Virgin; what adoration of images and relics did not the *Church* impose! What oceans of blood were shed, to which all that has ever been shed by the Holy Alliance has been as a single drop! What thousands of martyrs have perished at the stake! How the snows of the mountains have gleamed with the conflagrations of the burning homes of the disciples of Jesus! How the rocks amid the midnight darkness have echoed back their screams of agony! What tales of suffering have the prisons to declare! What secrets of horror have the vaults of the Inquisition to reveal! How long and how dreary the darkness that brooded over the face of the entire Christian world!

Were these the doings of *Rome*? They were the legitimate results of the PRINCIPLE *that the Church has authority to ordain Liturgies and ceremonies for the worship of God, and to require the people to submit to the same.* Is this the principle exclusively of *Rome*? Our fathers fled from the cruelties of the same principle inflicted upon them by Protestant hands. Some of them were compelled by Protestant hands to drink the cup of martyrdom. Some were spoiled of their goods. Some were pilloried, mutilated, scourged. Multitudes perished in prison, of starvation and cold. Read the sufferings of the Scotch Covenanters under the persecutions and dragonings of the licentious and bloody Charles II. They were hanged on the gallows, tied to the stake at low water and drowned by the rising tide; shot down in the fields, or on the green grass before their own fire-sides; hunted in the morasses and glens; and their bodies left unburied to be devoured by the birds of prey.* These things were done by *Protestant High-Churchmen*, and since the last of them, one hundred and sixty years have not yet passed away! From that day to this, the same ruthless principle has borne upon all who have scrupled to receive Liturgies and rituals; in *disabilities, vexatious oppressions*, and in every form of severity that the period of the world would endure. Why, we are told even in this American land, that not only has the Church authority to impose these things, but that without these *imposed* Liturgies and rituals, the fold of Jesus is an "*unfenced field*." Prelates tell us that it will not do for the people and their ministers to be trusted with freedom in the worship of God! Oh, no! liberty in this matter is a dangerous possession to the people; the Prelates can manage to keep it better! These canons, saints' days, angels' days, Liturgies and rituals, are *very useful*! A liberty to worship God without them is very pernicious, and therefore the

* "It is supposed that Popery has put to death *fifteen millions* of persons for truth's sake. * * In the years 1684 and 1685, *eighty persons* were shot in the fields in cold blood in Scotland."—(*Traditions of the Covenanters*, p. 170.) This was an inconsiderable item in the account of the murders perpetrated by the Protestant High-Churchmen in Scotland.

Church as a good mother has taken that liberty away! And thereupon Bishops give charges, and presbyters preach sermons, to show what schisms, heresies, errors, fanaticisms, spring up for the want of these very valuable and holy *fences* to restrain the very dangerous *liberty* of people to worship God; saying less or more than the Liturgy prescribes! Just so Rome talks about the pernicious results of allowing the people liberty to read the Bible for themselves.

Do you not see the principle of the Holy Alliance still? Despotie Austria comforts her good people by telling them of the horrors of liberty. She points to the strife of political parties in these United States, to show how dangerous it is for people to be allowed to choose their own rulers, and how ineffably *superior is the Divine Right of Kings to the freedom of the people!* nay, she shows them by conclusive arguments that *absolute despotism is the only possible freedom!* She points to these unhappy States as a demonstration of the mischiefs of popular discussion, of a free-press, and of popular rights; and then points to the *repose, stability, and uniformity* of a despotic government. Blessed Austria! No popular rights to create disturbances! No popular discussions of political subjects! No popular elections! A good censorship of the press, and a close espionage over every man's lips, to "*fence*" out error! Blessed Austria! whose people are trained to regard with silent horror this miserable, wild, unhappy democracy—this *State without a king*, across the waters!

Now, I pray you, whither tends all the talk, that *this* community has of late heard, about the benefit of ecclesiastical "*fences*," and all this outcry about heresies and schisms for the want of liturgies and of a better standard of faith than the Bible; whither tend all these harangues, but to show, after the example of Austria and the Holy Alliance, the mischiefs of liberty, and the benefit of despotism in Church as well as in State? Granting that all these cries of heresies were true (as they are not, but false), as to the main drift of these allegations (since heresies prevail far more within the fences of liturgies and rituals than without them; and discussion in the Episcopal fold, is, or ought to be as earnest as anywhere else): granting that all these allegations were true—still *despotism* is not the remedy. If it were, even Protestant Prelatists might return with some advantage to Rome. Prince Metternich may persuade the Austrians that they live under a more blessed government than that of the United States; and so the prelates may persuade their people, that prelates and priests can do much better for them by taking their religious liberties away; but we trust that such doctrines can never be so sweetened and smoothed as to make them extensively palatable

to the sons of the Pilgrims, or to the descendants of the Patriots of Seventy-Six.

Will it be said that the Episcopal Church, in these United States, neither professes nor claims the power to enforce her canons, liturgies and forms by *civil penalties*?

She nevertheless does enforce them by all the penalties within her power. She claims a right to rule all the disciples of Christ within this territory; and declares, and treats, all who do not submit, as guilty schismatics. She claims it as the *duty* of all Christians to forsake every other Church, and to cleave only to her, as the only true Church; out of which there are no covenanted mercies of God. She then cuts off every minister, every man, and every congregation, that does not submit to these man-made and man-imposed liturgies, rituals, and decrees. What is this but *usurpation and persecution*?

If it is our *duty* to belong to a particular Church, then that duty involves a *right* to enter it and remain there, in the enjoyment of all the franchises wherewith Christ has made his people free. He who curtails those franchises is a usurper. He who puts up a single bar which Christ has not put up, or which Christ has not authorized him to put up, is a usurper. *If Christ has not enjoined ceremonies, rituals, or liturgies, then any congregation of Christ's people has an indefeasible right to worship him without;* and he who shuts another out of the Church or the ministry because that other cannot in conscience, or according to his sense of propriety, observe the ceremonies and liturgies which man has made to prescribe *and limit the worship of God*, is both an USURPER AND SCHISMATIC. HE HAS USURPED THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE PREROGATIVES OF GOD. The so styled *Church*, which claims authority over a nation or a province (even admitting, as we do not, that its entire authority is not usurped), has no more right to impose upon the several congregations a *Liturgy*, than it has to impose a set form of *sermons*, and to forbid any other sermon or exhortation. Nay, for a book of sermons a better pretence might be made, viz. the necessity of guarding the *doctrines* of the Church. The so styled "*Church*," of a nation or province (which we deny to be any *Church* at all, in its national or provincial organization or authority), has no more right to require, of the several congregations, the ceremony of kneeling at the sacrament, than it has to require them to celebrate Mass; it has no more right to require the observance of Lent, or Saints' days, than it has to require them to fast on Fridays; no more right to silence a minister or to exclude a member for refusing to obey such canons, than it has to cut off their heads. He who cuts me off from the franchises with which Christ has endowed me, he who forbids me to worship God in public without the use of a

prescribed Liturgy, hinders and obstructs me from discharging the duties which Christ has commanded me. It matters not whether it is some "Diotrephes" who "loveth to have the pre-eminence," that has done it, "casting them out of the Church;" or whether some Hierarchy, or clique, who have seen fit to impose, what neither Christ nor his Apostles enjoined for the worship of God: and who take it upon them to cast Christ's people out of his Church, because they will not obey these man-made decrees; they are *usurpers, schismatics, and persecutors*.

But it is said that liturgies and prescribed rituals are necessary FOR SECURING UNIFORMITY. Did Christ require all congregations to observe an exact uniformity, in every word and ritual, when assembled for the worship of God? The colors of the rainbow are not all alike. The beautiful flowers, and trees, and landscapes, are not all alike. The rivers and valleys are not all alike. The minds and tastes of men are not all alike; their circumstances and wants are not all alike; the times in which they live are not all alike; that prayers and praises may be stinted and limited to suit the character, circumstances, and wants of all alike. Besides, the Liturgy of England is not uniform with that of Rome, or with any other Liturgy. If it were so, uniformity is not unity.

It is not the right, or the expediency of *using* a Liturgy, which here comes into question; but the *right to enforce a Liturgy*, on congregations of Christians who do not choose it. Nor would the question be the same, if the Liturgy were enforced only upon those who choose to unite with the communion to which a Liturgy is prescribed; while others should be allowed to worship elsewhere as they please. The Episcopal Church makes not this allowance; it claims to be "THE CHURCH," with RIGHT TO RULE OVER ALL: it treats all others as schismatics out of the pale of the covenanted mercies of God. And holding forth these exclusive claims, it writes this its FORTY-FIFTH CANON, for the due observance of all Christians who shall attempt to worship God: "*Every minister shall, before all sermons and lectures, and on all other occasions of public worship, use the Book of Common Prayer, as the same is or may be established by the authority of the General Convention of this Church. And in performing said service, no other prayers shall be used than those prescribed by said book.*" On this canon, Dr. Hawkes remarks, that some of the clergy "have felt themselves at liberty, after the sermon, to make an extemporary prayer. Very few, however," he adds, "it is believed, have done so." He gives it as his opinion, that such a practice is not in accordance with the canon: "as its purpose was, on all occasions of public worship, to render OBLIGATORY the use of a *rescript form of prayer*:" which rescript he considers as obligatory "after the sermon as before."*

* Constitution and Canons of the Episcopal Church, p. 377.

Now, to my mind, such a canon is a horrible usurpation and tyranny, to which no Christian should ever submit. What! for such a man as the venerated Dr. Milnor, or Leigh Richmond, in the habit of praying without book, and entirely capable of pouring out his soul in warm, living language; for such a man, under circumstances of peculiar interest, or of great and startling emergency; or after a sermon, when sinners are awakened, and in tears, to be told, No, you must not offer an extemporary prayer; the canon forbids it! You shall be liable never to be allowed to preach the Gospel more, if you transgress the canon! For such a man, and for the congregation, too, while the spirit within him is groaning for utterance, to be limited to a rescript, formal, general Collect, of no adaptedness to the occasion! What is it but the grossest tyranny! an insult to God! an outrage upon the dearest rights of man! How nearly it savors of the proceeding of Darius the king, when, at the instigation of the presidents, governors, and princes, he made a "Decree that whosoever should ask a petition of any God or man, save of the king, for thirty days, should be cast into the den of lions." What right has the Church to prescribe prayers more than sermons? Why might she not, with the same propriety, prescribe a *sermon-book*; and decree by canon, that if any warm-hearted minister should presume to venture an exhortation, not prescribed in the book, he should be cast out of the Church, or silenced, according to the canon?

How often is the Prayer-Book lean and barren, when compared with the occasion? I remember one gloomy Sabbath morning during the last war with Great Britain, when every man capable of bearing arms was summoned from my native village to meet the invading foe;—how desolate the Sanctuary seemed when none but the aged, the women, and the children were there; what tears were shed; what stifled sobs were heard, when the minister poured forth his prayer adapted to the dangers of their loved ones, and to the sorrows and fears of those who remained. I remember hearing the people in a town on the shores of Lake Champlain, near the northern line of Vermont, tell,—how on the 14th of September, 1814—when nearly all their men were gone across the lake to meet the overwhelming force of the enemy, who were only waiting the coming up of the fleet, to begin the combat; on the morning of that Sabbath, the British fleet was descried sweeping by; and as the bell was tolling for public worship, the roar of the battle began; they saw the smoke; they heard the distant thunder; their husbands and fathers and brothers were there. The man of God entered with a firm step into the place of worship, and without taking his seat, or a moment's pause—lifted up his hands and said, LET

US PRAY. Nor while that combat raged, did he cease to pray. nor the anxious congregation to mingle their tears and sobbings with their prayers. O, for the *Church* to come in with its canons at such a time : and say to the man of God, Here, take the book ; the Church forbids you to call upon God, save only in this re-script form ! *Who is the Church*, that comes thus to interfere with individual ministers and congregations ; and to stand between their souls and the Throne, when they assemble to worship God ?—But this inquiry belongs to another place, in which we trust it will appear that Christ has left no such authority—no such “ *Church* ” on earth, as the authority by which these canons and liturgies are framed and imposed.

But supposing, as we do at present for the argument's sake, that what claims to be “ *The Church* ” is such in reality, and may rightfully exercise ecclesiastical powers : even on this supposition, Christ has given no *power* of prescribing liturgies and ceremonies for the worship of God, to any human authority. The commission to the Apostles was (and surely none may go beyond this)—“ *Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* ” No Church authority, therefore, may go beyond, and charge upon the conscience, or lay an incumbrance upon the worship of God, beyond what Christ has commanded. *John Cotton* has well remarked on this passage, “ if the Apostles teach people to observe more than Christ has commanded, they go beyond their commission ; and a larger commission than that given to the Apostles, nor Elders, nor Synods, nor Churches can challenge.”

But it is said that the *Church has authority to order* IN THINGS INDIFFERENT. Who is to judge whether the thing imposed be indifferent ? Does the Church then judge a *liturgy* to be indifferent ? Sponsors in baptism ; and other things which she prescribes for the worship of God, and for the Sacraments ;—does she judge these all *indifferent* ? Under this notion of indifference were brought in all the mummeries of Rome ; and Rome, as well as the English Church, judged that she had a right to overrule all scruples of conscience, as to what things were, or were not indifferent.

But imposing things indifferent is more than Apostles durst do ; for when certain from Judea told the disciples of Antioch that they must be circumcised, and advice was asked of the Church at Jerusalem with the Apostles and elders ; these having the Holy Ghost, concluded to lay upon them no greater burden than some “ *NECESSARY things.* ” Who now may go beyond, and impose things *unnecessary*, i. e. things *indifferent* ? “ *What charter,* ” says Stillingfleet, “ *has Christ given the Church, to bind men up to more than himself hath done ?* or to exclude those from

her society, who may be admitted to heaven. Will Christ ever thank men, at the great day, for keeping such out from communion with his Church, to whom he will vouchsafe (*not only*) crowns of glory; but it may be aureole, golden too, if there be any such there?" "The grand commission with which the Apostles were sent out, was *only to teach what Christ had commanded them*. Not the least intimation of any power given them to impose anything beyond what he himself had spoken to them, or they were directed by the immediate guidance of the Spirit of God." "There were diversities of practice and varieties of observances among Christians; but the Holy Ghost never thought those things ought to be made matters of laws." * * "The Apostles valued not indifferences at all," * * * "and what reason is there why men should be so strictly tied up to such things, which they may do, or let alone, and yet be very good Christians still?" * * * "Without all controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions, and divisions of the Christian world, hath been by adding other conditions of Church communion than Christ hath done." * * * "Would there even be less peace and unity in a Church, if a diversity were allowed as to practices supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much *more* as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension as to such things. The unity of a Church is a unity of love, and of doctrine, *not a BARE UNIFORMITY of practice, or of opinion.*"

The remarks of Owen on this question are also in point. "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you—*Πατα ὅσα*. The commission goes no further. Let the Liturgy be tried by this rule; and I cannot but admire, with what peace and satisfaction to their own souls, men *can pretend to act as by commission from Christ*, as the chief administrators of his government and worship on earth, *and make it their whole business* almost, TO TEACH MEN TO DO AND OBSERVE WHAT HE NEVER COMMANDED; and rigorously to inquire after and into their own commands, whilst those of the Lord Jesus are openly neglected."

But it is alleged that the Scripture says "*Let all things be done decently and in order.*" This only forbids things *disorderly and indecent* in the worship of God. Within the wide range of what is orderly and decent, it leaves people entirely free. It can give no authority to impose a Liturgy, till it is first decided that to worship God without a Liturgy is disorderly and indecent, and subversive of the ends of worship. The remarks of *John Cotton* on this point are to the point and conclusive. "Suppose the Church of Corinth (or any other Church or Synod) should enjoin upon their ministers to preach in a *gown*. A gown is a

decent garment to preach in, yet such an injunction is not grounded upon that text of the Apostle ; for then a minister neglecting to preach in a gown would neglect the commandments of the Apostle, which indeed he doth not. For if he preach in a cloak he preacheth *decently* enough, and that is all which the Apostle's canon reacheth."

The DUTY of worshipping God involves the RIGHT *to worship him according to our own conscience and His holy Word. It frees us from all Liturgies and ceremonies imposed by man.* In imposing such things by all the penalties within her power, and in debarring all who will not use these Liturgies and ceremonies, from the common privileges of Christianity, the Episcopal Church, as well as the Roman, while she claims to be exclusively "THE CHURCH," is, according to her ability, a great persecutor and a schismatic. She has usurped Christ's prerogatives, and his people's rights ; she hinders and forbids Christ's people from a free and conscientious discharge of the duties required of them. If they will not submit to her usurpations, she will, as much as in her lies, debar them from all Church privileges and ordinances, and deny them all participation in the public worship of God.

Ought there to be a doubt that this part of her settled policy and law, is a criminal usurpation, which no Christian should either submit to or abet—a course of policy and law, which that Church is bound forthwith to reform, and for whose past enormities she ought to humble herself in deep repentance ? To deny men their *civil* rights is something ; to plunder men of their *property* by highway robbery is something ; but to usurp the rights of conscience in the matter of worshipping God, and in such a matter to "frame iniquity by law," is an outrage which ought no longer to be perpetrated by anything that claims to be The Church of Christ.

XX.

ON SCHISM.

Examination of the grounds on which the Puritan Churches are charged as schismatical. The Prelatical Doctrine of Schism tested by Scripture. Singular scheme for restoring a visible Unity. Scriptural view of Schism.

A GREAT outcry is made about the SIN OF SCHISM. Our Puritan Fathers, and all who worship God, save in the forms and under the authority of Prelacy, are denounced as SCHISMATICS.

The grounds on which these charges are made, are various—our accusers not appearing to have well digested the principles on which they would determine in what the sin consists; and, for that reason, laying down now one basis, and now another; consistent with themselves in nothing, save that in all shifting and changes, they keep still upon ground which would hand over the whole Christian world to despotism and darkness.

What is that guilty *schism* which is charged upon us? If you inquire of the books and missiles in which that charge is so currently made, you will find its essence to consist in one of these three particulars:

1. *The breaking away of any body of Christians from the customs, or rule, of the Catholic, or Universal Church:*

2. *Worshiping God in public, or socially, without conformity to the Liturgy, or rituals of the National Church: or,*

3. *Departing from the authority of the Diocesan Bishop of the particular territory: or in not maintaining communion with, and subjection to, some Prelate of the Apostolical succession.*

With regard to the FIRST of these grounds, we answer (1.) That if Schism consists in breaking away from the AUTHORITY of the so called Universal or Catholic Church—viz. the authority of a Catholic *organization*, having an earthly head, or bearing earthly rule over all Christians; then neither we nor our Episcopal brethren recognize any such organization or authority. The New Testament knows nothing of it. Nobody claims it, save Anti-christ.

(2.) If Schism consists in *want of conformity* to the customs—liturgies, ceremonies, observances—*of the UNIVERSAL CHURCH*; then we answer that there are no such universal customs from which we have broken away. The liturgy of those who particularly make the charge upon us, differs from every other liturgy on earth, and from that of any other Church that ever existed. Its ceremonials do the same. Its doctrines differ fundamentally from those of the Roman, and Greek, and Armenian Churches. Between its *written prayers* and our *extempore* prayers, and worship, there is, in the main, a happy agreement, in spirit and substance; while the difference between both and many of those of Rome, is heaven-wide. But we are not bound at all to inquire what are the customs, ceremonies, liturgies, or doctrines of the Universal Church: but only what is required in the Word of God. It is no schism for any congregation of Christians, to cast off entirely all forms, and doctrines, and ordinances, which rest merely in the “commandments of men.” In so doing, they break none of Christ’s laws, and infringe not upon any of his people’s rights. It is no schism, no breach of fellowship, or of charity. They who take offence at this; who deny these franchises; who would impose human rituals and ordinances; and then denounce and punish those as schismatics who do not obey—they are the schismatics.

What is true of all congregations of Christ’s people everywhere, is more apparently and undeniably so in ours. Our Fathers came—acknowledged members of Christ’s Church, and their ministers acknowledged as lawfully ordained ministers—into a wilderness, three thousand miles away from any part of Christ’s Church, that could even pretend to any jurisdiction over them. They took Christ’s word: and whatever He ordained, that they acknowledged. Whatever ceremonies and ordinances were simply of man’s invention, those they threw entirely aside. Was it *schism* to do so? And now there come men into the midst of these Churches, and call us *dissenters* and *schismatics*! They say it is a heinous sin for any Christian to worship with us!* that our Churches are no Churches! that our ministers are followers of Korah, Dathan and Abiram! and that none who hold with us, have any part in the covenanted mercies of God!

But if our Fathers were bound to follow the customs of the Catholic Church; then, *what* customs, or the customs of *what part* of it, should they have followed? Those of England? Then the emigrants to Mexico and South America must follow those of

* See Chapin’s Reasons for not joining in sectarian worship. Yet in that work, the author makes this remarkable concession: “If we” [Episcopalians] “have no more Scripture warrant than other denominations, we” [Episcopalians] “ARE GUILTY OF SCHISM. They were here first; they are more in numbers; and if they are equally right, it is sin for us to separate from them.” P. 16.

Spain: the emigrants to Canada must follow those of France: the mingled emigrants to these United States of later years, must follow the customs of their respective countries: and here is a beautiful specimen of *Unity* in Catholic customs! On this ground, why has England sent her Protestant Bishops and Liturgy into Popish Ireland? Why did she send them to Popish Canada?

The first alleged ground of schism is an absurdity.

2. Does Schism consist in worshipping God publicly or socially, without conforming to the Liturgy or rituals of the NATIONAL CHURCH?

The National Church? Then what constitutes schism in these United States? *The National Church!* The authority of that Church was as valid under the Bloody Mary as in the days of Elizabeth; and Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and the other English martyrs were schismatics, for not conforming themselves to the canons, rituals and liturgy of the National Church. If such a Church may exist and have authority, then the Church of Spain or of France is endowed with righteous authority, equally with that of England. A National Church? A National organization with power to decree rites, liturgies and canons for a *nation!* Where is its model or warrant in the New Testament? What are its prerogatives and powers? What are its officers; and where in the New Testament is the record of their appointment? Where is the charter of their authority? A National Church! There is no such thing, having any authority that a Christian may acknowledge. It is all a usurpation. It is no schism to regard such canons, traditions, ceremonies, and imposed liturgies as a nullity. *No Schism?*—Nay, they who *submit* to its decrees are abettors of a conspiracy against the rights of Christ's people; and of treason against the only Lawgiver and Head of the Church. They who attempt to enforce the requirements of such a pretended Church upon Christ's people, make war upon the liberties and order of Christ's kingdom. These are they who rend the seamless mantle of Christ; and who, in the pride and arrogance of assumed power, seem determined to rule or ruin the Church of the living God.*

* Chapin, in his "Primitive Church," has a chapter entitled "THE ENGLISH REFORMATION CANONICAL." It would have been more to the point to show, (with regard to the *authority* that effected it) that it was *scriptural*. *Canonical!* Queen Mary too made a "Canonical" reformation when she carried the reformation back to Rome. "The English Reformation Canonical!" The very implication of such a title condemns the reformation in Germany as a wicked schism. This is indeed the drift of his argument. So *Dr. Jarvis*, in his late Tract, "No Union with Rome," gravely argues that it was lawful for the "*British Church*" to recover her original customs and privileges." He says he is "*prepared*, and if proper encouragement is given, he *will* hereafter *proceed* to show that *** the Church of Britain was one of those countries, which in the language of the Canonists was *autocephalous*, i. e., held in itself an inherent jurisdiction independent of any foreign power." "And if such was the fact it would be absurd to maintain that the United States, a

3. The third ground on which we are charged as schismatics is, that schism consists in departing from the authority of the DIOCESAN BISHOP OF THE PARTICULAR TERRITORY: or in not maintaining communion with, and subjection to, SOME PRELATE OF THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

We hold that the very existence of a Diocesan Bishop was unknown to the original Church; and that his power and office is an entire usurpation, and that the so-called "Apostolical succession" is false and Popish in principle, and false in fact. These things we shall endeavor to show in the proper place. If these views are correct, then Diocesan Bishops and their adherents are the schismatics; not those who reject their usurped authority. But for the present, let us examine the prelatical doctrine of schism upon its own grounds. The principle which now comes into question is, that a departure from the Diocesan Bishop is to be guilty of the sin of schism. Reforms must begin with the Bishop; those who do not stand by the Bishop wherever he stands, and follow him whithersoever he goes;—or certainly, they who separate from him, are wicked schismatics. Here is the doctrine of the Holy Alliance over again: all needful reforms must come from the sovereign—i. e. in this case, from the lord over God's heritage. The people have no rights or duties, save that of submission to the Bishop. On this principle the Wickliffites, the Hussites, the Albigenes, and Waldenses were wicked schismatics: Luther was but a wicked schismatic—departing from his Bishop, and even calling in question his very

country not known when the Patriarchate of the West was conceded to the Bishop of Rome, and colonized by Britain *after* she had recovered her independence, can, of right, become a dependent on the Roman see."

What an exhibition of folly and superstition! Does the right of the British Church to reform itself, depend upon what records Dr. Jarvis or some other man may dig up from dust and worms, to prove that Britain was originally autocephalous? Will Dr. Jarvis join in that issue with Rome? And if the proof fails, will he concede a right to Rome once more to sway the sceptre over England? Is this the last hope of warding off from these United States the calamity of being conceded "*of right*" a dependency of the Roman see? Why, to enter at all upon this argument, is to concede, that all countries which began their Christian career under the auspices of Rome, must for ever remain under her dominion. Dr. Jarvis is "*prepared*," and if "*suitable encouragement is given*," he "*will proceed to show*"—what? Why, this forsooth;—he will show by learned researches in history about the Patriarchate of the West, and its date;—by *documentary* proofs—so voluminous, that *encouragement* is needed to pay the printer!—that these United States are not "*of right*" a dependency of "*the Roman see*!"

But let not the good Protestants of the United States be alarmed. The question is only between the Protestant Prelates and the Papist, as to which has the exclusive right to lord it over this domain. When they are through with their documentary proofs, and with their "*endless genealogies*" of "*the succession*,"—whether England was ever *Autocephalous* or not, we apprehend that either party, if victorious, will have to enter upon another argument with the PEOPLE. We do not by any means concede, that if Protestant prelates do not rule us, the Popish must. We care not at all how that dispute, about the *autocephalousness* of England, is decided between Dr. Jarvis and the Pope.

authority. The disciples of Christ who perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition, were schismatics; those who met in secret to worship God under the reign of Bloody Mary, were wicked schismatics; and the same was true of all the martyrs who perished at the stake. This principle delivers the world over to a despotism as dark and hopeless as any under which human nature ever groaned. A reformation under such a principle is a hopeless impossibility. Never, in the history of the world, did a reformation begin with prelatical bishops: Never. The reformation had struggled in England among the common people, from the days of Wickliffe.* From the midst of persecutions and dungeons, the light fled from England to the continent; and there John Huss and Jerome of Prague had suffered burning. The remains of that persecuted and crushed reformation were yet lingering in England, when the light once more broke in from Saxony. Even then, it was not the canonical movement of the Bishops that commenced and carried on the Reformation; but God overruled the lust and wickedness of one of the vilest monsters that ever filled

* It was on the ground that the English people kept with the Bishops, that Mr. Chapin styles the English Reformation *canonical*. On the same ground, Bishop Brownell declares in his charge, how happy it would have been, "*When the Dignitaries of the Continental Churches refused to unite in the Holy work of the Reformation* * * * *if a continuance of the ministerial succession had been sought from the English Church;*" at all events, they should have had the grace to keep by some Bishop. Would that have been *canonical*? Bishop Brownell, here, would allow *private judgment* to determine upon the orthodoxy of the Bishops; when he will not trust private judgment with the Word of God! He here admits the right of the people, in one diocese, to renounce their own Bishop, and attach themselves to another; and that on the ground of their own private judgment. Is that canonical; or is it schism? The principles of Bishop Brownell, and of Mr. Chapin, would not fail, on their own principles, to fill the "Catholic Church" with confusion and divisions without end. Besides, that principle is *heresy* on their own ground; being condemned by the *fathers*, and that too, by one of the *first two centuries*: as we shall presently see.

There is a further inquiry with regard to this "Canonical Reformation." Is it canonical for the *civil power* to depose one set of Bishops, and to set up others? Our Canonists may take which horn of the dilemma they will. The deprivation of the Popish Bishops under Queen Elizabeth was either lawful or unlawful. At that time, Bishop Kitchen alone consented to the Reformation; and all others were deposed. If their deprivation was lawful; then any apostolical acts which these Popish Bishops might afterwards perform in England, were null and void. The priests whom they should ordain, would be no priests; and their acts a nullity. Also, if the deprivation of these Bishops was lawful, then was the deprivation of the *Protestant* Bishops, in the time of Queen Mary, also lawful—being performed in the same way, and by the same authority. If so, then the consecration of Archbishop Parker by these deprived Bishops (Coverdale, the only "conducting" link, was never restored) was *unlawful*; and all the present ordinations of England and of the United States are unlawful, and null, and void! This is one horn of the dilemma. But if the deprivation of the Popish Bishops by Queen Elizabeth was unlawful; then the Reformation was not canonical, but a wicked schism! The ordination of Archbishop Parker, by deprived Bishops, was unlawful, and all the ordinations of the usurping Bishops, and of all that follow them down through time, are unlawful, and null, and void. On their own ground, our High Church Episcopalians are cut off from "the covenanted mercy of God;" their first duty, and their only hope is, to make the best of their way back to Rome.

a throne, to break through all canons; and to chain the prelates to his revolutionary car. It was the *throne* and the *Parliament* that finally unthrottled the hands of the prelates from the neck of truth and freedom gasping for life;—that deposed some, and set up others; and in a way *contrary to all canons*, carried on the Reformation by the weight of the civil arm. Had any of the crowned heads on the continent been laid under similar inducements, there might have been reforming Bishops on the continent; provided those sovereigns had wielded the sceptre with as vigorous a hand as the English Henry. Otherwise, like kings and emperors before them, they might have been glad to wait before the gates of the sovereign Pontiff, barefoot, and in a shirt of hair, through a winter's night, glad to be admitted to kiss his toe in the morning. A Reformation *canonical*, in the sense of waiting for the Bishops, and of not moving without them. Never. Human nature is too fond of power; and the possession of such unearthly power is too corrupting for a reformation ever to begin with Prelates. And yet it is schism to depart from Diocesan Bishops! Thus Bishop Hobart, in his "Companion for the Altar," says, "Let it be thy *supreme care*, O my soul, to receive the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour, *only from the hands of those* who derive their authority by *regular transmission* from Christ." * * * "Where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the *Church* by the participation of its ordinances at the hands of *the duly authorized priesthood* IS THE INDISPENSABLE CONDITION OF SALVATION."*

Now were it not that the Fathers of the second and third centuries speak of parish Bishops and not of Diocesans, this dogma might be substantiated from the Fathers; though, as we shall see, it is contrary to the Bible. Thus: Irenæus says, "*Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear, there also let the people be.*" That is, if this can apply to Diocesans—let the people be with *Bonner* when he is bishop: when *Latimer* is in the chair, let them go with *Latimer*; at another time, let them go with *Laud*. Let them believe one Gospel with *Bishop McIlvaine*, and another Gospel with *Bishop Doane* and the Pope. The same Father says, "*See that ye follow your Bishop, even as God the Father.*" Ignatius says, "*We ought to look upon the Bishop as we would look*

* The Bishop afterwards attempted to extricate himself from this position, by saying that by "indispensable condition" he did not mean that *God* might not dispense with it in cases of "ignorance, invincible prejudice, imperfect reasoning, &c.,—but that *man* might not dispense with it." What is this but preaching to every man, *Episcopacy or Perdition*? you may not dispense with Episcopacy, and have any warrant on Gospel grounds—or offers,—that you shall be saved. Rev. Mr. Bristed, a thorough Episcopalian, but a Low Churchman, makes this just remark. "The doctrine of High Churchmen is, that all Non-Episcopalians are in the broad road to perdition; their watchword is, Episcopacy or damnation * * * as if such a dogma were not the very essence of Popery."

upon the Lord himself;" and again,—"*subject to your Bishop as to the command of God;"* and again,—"*Hearken unto the Bishop, that God may hearken unto you. My soul be security for them that submit to their Bishop.*" The Oxford Tractarians add their testimony on this point, thus: Tract No. 5. "*The Bishop is the shepherd of our souls while Christ is away;"* and Tract No. 10. "*Be as sure that the Bishop is Christ's appointed REPRESENTATIVE, as if we actually saw upon his head a cloven tongue like as of fire:"* and again; "*The Bishop rules the whole Church here below, as Christ rules it above:"* and again; "*Christ the true mediator above; the Bishop his earthly likeness."*

Such is the doctrine of Prelacy; but hear the doctrine of the Bible. It was a true Apostle, and no pretended successor, who said, "*Be ye followers of me, EVEN AS I AM OF CHRIST.*" No further than this must we follow even an Apostle; no, nor even an angel. "*Though WE OR AN ANGEL FROM HEAVEN PREACH ANY OTHER GOSPEL UNTO YOU than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again; If ANY MAN preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed;"* no matter what his successional pedigree; no matter what his office; if you leave Christ's Gospel to follow such a Bishop, you leave Christ, and are a traitor to his truth and kingdom. Even though the authority of a Bishop were ever so lawful, it is as it was in the case of the traitor Benedict Arnold, in the days of the American Revolution; his office was valid, his officers and soldiers owed him a military obedience, but the moment they discovered his treason against the *supreme power* which gave him his commission, that moment they were bound to leave him. To follow him then would make them partakers of his treason.

The prelatical doctrine of schism turns away from the great principles and design of Christianity, or rather it lays Christianity itself on the altar a sacrifice to Prelacy. It makes an outward organization the main end of religion; it sacrifices God's truth, and human freedom, and conscience, to the great end of exalting the hierarchy. It makes Christ's kingdom emphatically of this world. It puts Christ's laws and people beneath the feet of the Prelates. In one word, it is Anti-Christian; a part of the "mystery of iniquity;" one of the main foundations of him "who sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself, that he is God."

It affords an instructive lesson concerning the miserable nature of this prelatical notion of schism, to observe the plan gravely marked out by the present Bishop of Vermont, for the restoration of Unity in the Church. "O, my brethren," says he (p. 303), "how often have I thought of this question, until my heart has yearned over the miseries of sectarian division; and I have felt

as if my life would be a cheap sacrifice for the *Unity of Zion*.” * * “How often have I dwelt upon the *MODE in which* ALONE it seemed to my mind, that such a result could be accomplished, until I almost imagined that the time had come.”

And what is that “*mode*,” that “*only*” mode, “*in which alone*” this unity can be effected? Hear Bishop Hopkins’ plan: “*At length the favored hour is come, and lo! a general cry is heard, for a UNIVERSAL COUNCIL.*” He would have it held on our free soil; in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. “Rome hears, and responds to the appeal.” * * “Her hierarchy all consent to the proposed pacification, and appoint their delegates men unsurpassed in varied learning, and renowned for dialectic skill.” “*Greece gladly unites.*” “*Protestant Germany,*”—yes! Protestant Germany; Transcendentalists, Neologists—men denying the Lord that bought them: denying the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the very personality of the Holy Ghost—even these the Bishop greets, as they enter the precincts of the Universal Council! And England? “*England, the friend of toleration; and now, more than ever, feeling the absolute necessity of religious unity: England, chafed and irritated by the demons of sectarian zeal; once revolutionized by the fury of fanaticism, and now bleeding under the lash of civil discord,*” * * * “*England hails the summons, and joyfully yields her treasures to the work which promises to make the Holy Catholic Church one again.*”

England the friend of toleration! Shades of Bishop Bonner and Archbishop Laud! England, “chafed by the demons of sectarian zeal?” Marvellously conciliatory to the children of them who suffered imprisonment, banishment or death, for freedom to worship God! But let that pass.

The Grand Council is assembled. Papists, Neologists, Prelatists: all are there. But for the *Dissenters*—the Puritans, the Methodists, the Baptists—the good Bishop gives them no summons. It might not be agreeable to the company invited, to summon any that are not of the “Catholic Church.” The Council is assembled. *And now for the basis on which to agree:* WHAT IS THE RULE AND JUDGE OF FAITH?

In another publication, Bishop Hopkins has stood for the *Bible alone*: but now, in the Universal Council, he will give up that principle for the sake of Union with Romanists. On what Rule of Faith he would agree with the German Neologists, who deny both inspiration and the Holy Ghost, it does not appear. But hear the Bishop in his own words (p. 306), “*And now the principle is to be settled, which shall guide the deliberations of this august body.* And, thank God, there can be no serious difficulty in the search; for the principles avowed by the Church of Rome may be made to quadrate sufficiently with the principles of the Re-

formation, when the minds of Christians are governed by the pure desire of truth and of unity. THE BIBLE AND APOSTOLICAL TRADITION, are the standards to which the Church of Rome has always professed to appeal; and she consents to *try her apostolical traditions by the TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS.*" * * * "The Word of God, therefore, AND THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS, being in fact the only authorities to which the great divisions of the Christian world ever have appealed, TO THESE THE APPEAL MUST NOW BE MADE." Alas, alas! Bishop Hopkins will now trust a Council of Papists, Greeks, High Churchmen and Neologists, to settle authoritatively the faith of the world, on the basis of *Scripture and tradition*, interpreted by the *Fathers!* And that with the express understanding, that "The principles of the Church of Rome may be made to quadrate sufficiently with the principles of the Reformation!" "And now," he says, "*behold the work is done: the trumpet of the Christian Jubilee is blown throughout the earth.*"

Yes; a Holy Alliance to dethrone the Lord Jesus Christ, and to give his seat and sceptre into the hands of a human hierarchy! A Holy Alliance to throw down the Bible from the altar of God, and to exalt a mingled creed, the fruit of an incestuous compromise between truth and falsehood! This is to give peace to Zion! This is to bind Christians in uniformity! Just as if when men cannot be made to agree by the clear truth and authority of God, they can be made to agree by the wisdom and mandates of such a mongrel assembly,—ycleped a "Universal Council."

We can point Bishop Hopkins to a shorter, surer, safer way to Christian unity. Bind each congregation and *each Christian to God's Word and to Christ's commandments alone.* The ordinances and commandments of men, throw them all aside. Leave each congregation, and each Christian, to go to his Bible for himself. Whatever congregations hold the essentials of Christianity, and conscientiously observe Christ's ordinances; hold them as true Churches; call them not sectarians or schismatics; no, nor dissenters. Lift everywhere the standard of mutual respect and love, emblazoned with these sentences of Divine truth: "LET EVERY MAN BE FULLY PERSUADED IN HIS OWN MIND." "WHO ART THOU THAT JUDGEST ANOTHER MAN'S SERVANT." "WHY DOST THOU JUDGE THY BROTHER? OR WHY DOST THOU SET AT NAUGHT THY BROTHER?" "NOT AS LORDS OVER GOD'S HERITAGE BUT AS ENSAMPLES TO THE FLOCK." This done, blow the trumpet of Jubilee as loud and as long as you please. If not *uniformity*, there is essential *unity*; all that Christ has made provision for, or required. *Uniformity*, he has forbidden any man, or any Church to require. "Let not him

that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath received him."
*"Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more; but judge this, that no man put a stumbling-block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way."**

It is time to turn from these notions of schism, so absurd in themselves, and so utterly inconsistent with the least shadow of Christian liberty, to the IDEA OF SCHISM SET FORTH IN THE WORD OF GOD.

We shall find there, no allusion to such thing as schism, consisting in breaking away from the domination of Popes, Councils, Prelates, or of the "Catholic" Church. The Word of God charges no schism upon those who follow simply the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, and reject the mere ordinances and commandments of men. It does not forbid us to separate from false teachers, whatever be their *official* character; but, on the contrary, requires us to reject such a teacher, though he were an Apostle or an Angel from Heaven. The Schism of which the New Testament speaks, is *internal dissension, within the bosom of the same Church*. Thus, Rom. xvi. 17, "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark those which cause *divisions*" (*διχοστασίας*) "CONTRARY TO THE DOCTRINE which ye have heard, and AVOID THEM." Is it schism, then, to "avoid" a bishop who teaches *another Gospel contrary to the DOCTRINE* that we have heard? Again, 1 Cor. i. 11, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that there be no *DIVISIONS*" (*σχίσματα*, *schisms*) "among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together IN

* The English Reformers, while they greatly erred in requiring uniformity at home, nevertheless, acted on these principles with regard to Christians abroad. Mr. Chapin, in his *Primitive Church*, with his usual assurance, says, "The Episcopal Church has never renounced the divine institution of Episcopacy, nor has she ever acknowledged the orders of any one who had not been Episcopally ordained." I have before shown that the English Reformers did not believe in the divine institution of Episcopacy; and it is notorious that they uniformly treated the non-Episcopal foreign Churches and ministers as true Churches and true ministers. *Bishop Burnet*, whose authority on this point is unquestionable, says, "Whatever some hotter spirits have thought of this since that time, yet we are very sure that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church for about half an age after, did * * acknowledge the foreign Churches so constituted, to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church." CHILLINGWORTH denies that Luther and the other Reformers were schismatics for leaving Rome; and maintains that they were "a part of the Church, and still continued so; and therefore could no more separate from the whole than from themselves." Even HOOKER (*Book 5, § 68*) says, "The Church is a name which art has given to the professors of the true religion. * * We find that accordingly the Apostles do everywhere distinguish the Church from *Infidels and Jews*; accounting THEM WHICH CALL UPON THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, TO BE HIS CHURCH;" and any other essential thing put into the definition of the Church, Hooker maintains to be wrong. He expressly says (*Book 7, § 14*) that "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reasons to allow ordination without a Bishop. * * And therefore we are not simply, without exception, to urge a lineal descent * * by continued succession of Bishops in every effectual ordination."

THE SAME MIND, and IN THE SAME JUDGMENT; *for it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are CONTENTIONS among you.*" Is there no *schism* in the Episcopal Church, because they all bow to the authority of bishops, all use the Liturgy, and all the priests wear gowns and surplices; while, nevertheless, CONTENTIONS about Puseyism are rending the very bowels of the Church, and forbid them to be "*in the same mind,*" and in the "*same judgment?*" In like manner, in 1 Cor.xii. 25, it is said, "*That there should be no SCHISM in the body, BUT THAT THE MEMBERS SHOULD HAVE THE SAME CARE ONE FOR ANOTHER.*"

The prelatical notion of schism is unfounded in Scripture: an engine invented to bind the consciences of men in the chains of despotism; to detach Christ's people from their allegiance to His truth and throne, and to bind them to the usurped power of a human hierarchy. An Apostle of old found occasion to speak of some who would burden Christianity by the addition of human rites. "Who," says he, "came in privily to *spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus; THAT THEY MIGHT BRING US INTO BONDAGE: to whom we gave place by subjection, NO, NOT FOR AN HOUR.*" How sad a case the Apostle would have been in, had these imposers of human rituals turned round and branded him as a *Schismatic*, because he declined to wear the yoke which they had so kindly made for him!

XXI.

THE CHURCH.

NO NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL, OR DIOCESAN CHURCH RECOGNIZED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Church invisible ; partly on earth, partly in heaven. The Church on earth, composed of all Christ's people, in all communions ; its members known only to God. The Church as composed of visible organizations. No National, Provincial, or Diocesan organization or authority, recognized in the New Testament. Slater's argument concerning the Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, answered by Scripture.

THE New Testament uses the word "Church" in several senses :

1. AS COMPRISING ALL THE PEOPLE OF GOD, IN ALL LANDS, OF ALL AGES, THOSE ON EARTH, AND THOSE IN HEAVEN. Thus: Eph. i. 22, 23, "And gave him to be head over all things to THE CHURCH, which is his body ; the fullness of him that filleth all in all." This is that Universal or Catholic Church, of which it is said, Eph. v. 25, 27, "*As Christ loved the CHURCH*, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word ; that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing ; but that it should be holy and without blemish." This is that Church, of which it is said, Col. i. 18, 20, "And he is the head of the BODY, THE CHURCH ;" * * * "and having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself ; by him I say whether they be THINGS IN EARTH OR THINGS IN HEAVEN."

But this Catholic Church, of all times and nations, part of which is on earth and part in heaven, is *no earthly organization*. It is the Church *invisible*, whose members are found in all communions, and who are known only to God. Not every one in any earthly communion belongs to this invisible Church ; no rites, no sacraments, no creeds, can distinguish them ; they are not all Israel who are of Israel ; but "the Lord knoweth them that are his."

This universal and invisible Church, being no earthly organization, has no *earthly officers*.

2. There is another sense in which the word Church designates CHRIST'S APPARENT AND PROFESSED PEOPLE ON EARTH. Thus, when Paul persecuted the saints whether at Jerusalem or at Damascus, he said, "concerning zeal, persecuting *the Church*;" i. e. the visible, professed disciples of Jesus. It was in this sense that the Saviour used the word, when he said, "on this rock will I build *my Church*." This is that "Church" in which it is said that God hath set "first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; after that miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." This is the Church which has received the covenants and the promises; and to which Jesus, when he ascended up on high, gave various officers "for the perfecting of the saints; for the work of the ministry; for the edifying of the body of Christ."

In this sense the Church is visible; embracing all Christ's apparent and professed disciples. It is universal. It is one. But it is not one as collected into one organized society. It has not, since the Apostles, any universal officers, holding authority over the universal body; and this none have pretended, save in an unmeaning and self-contradictory sense; except the adherents of the Pope.

The *unity* of this Church is not a unity of organization; nor unity in the degrees and numbers of officers; nor unity in forms of worship. It consists in having "one faith, one Lord, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all." Its members are one in their agreement *in the same fundamental truths of Christianity*; one in the same profession and *visible ordinances*; partakers of *one spirit*; and one in the same *hope of heaven*. The unity which it is essential for them to keep, is "the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace;" provision being expressly made for difference of opinion, and difference of practice in unessential things: those who observe days and eat meat, and those who do not, being expressly forbidden to judge one another; and that injunction ending in the sharp reprimand, "Who art thou, that judgest another man's servant?"

This universal Church is independent of modes of organization, and modes of worship; it being in these respects variable, and having actually varied from age to age. Its first visible form began with Abraham—when it had a *sacrament*, but no *priesthood*. It had neither presbyters nor bishops; but it was still the Church of the living God, the root into which other Churches are grafted; and how much soever these Churches may glory in their hierarchies, or how much soever they may

insist that there cannot be a Church without a Bishop, it may still be said to them, "*Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee;*" that root was long a "Church without a Bishop;" even all the time from Abraham to Moses.

When the Abrahamic Church had continued in this state four centuries and more, a ritual law and a sacrificing priesthood were added; both of which were typical and temporary; being added to remain only "till the promised seed should come."

When Christ, the substance of these types, came, the types—both priests, rituals and sacrifices—were abolished. There is now no temple, altar, priest, or sacrifice. The dispensation of the Spirit began; the blessing of Abraham came upon the Gentiles. In all these changes of external form, the Church is one; its design, its covenant, its foundation being the same. The unity of the Church, then, can by no means consist in uniformity of organization, or of forms of worship.

3. AS VISIBLE ORGANIZATIONS, NO CHURCHES ARE RECOGNIZED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, EXCEPT SUCH AS ARE CONGREGATIONAL;* there being no such thing as a National, Provincial, or Diocesan organized Christian Church even alluded to in the New Testament.

Important conclusions follow this principle, if it be true. Let those whom it concerns look well to it. If there be no National, Provincial, or Diocesan Church organization in the New Testament, then there can be no offices or officers corresponding to such organizations; no Pope, no Patriarch, no Diocesan Bishop. These offices are of purely human device; there is no place or duty for them; no provision made for such officers in the Church of God.

It follows, moreover, that all canons, rituals, and Liturgies prescribed for the Churches of any nation, province, or so called diocese, are entirely without authority.

Let those who are concerned, therefore, look well to the principle.

We read of "The Church at Jerusalem;" "the Church at Antioch;" "the Church at Corinth;" at Ephesus, Smyrna, Thyatira, Philadelphia, Sardis, Pergamos, and Laodicea. We read of the Church at Cenchrea, distinct from the Church at Corinth, though Cenchrea was the port of that city; of the "*Church in thy house;*" the "Church which is in Nymphas' house." Nowhere do we read of the Church of a Nation, a Province, or of a Diocese comprising several congregations. No such organization is mentioned, referred to, or implied in any part of the New Testament. On the

* The word is not used here in the *technical* sense; i e. as distinguishing Congregational from Presbyterian. The Presbyterian scheme, as well as the Congregational, recognizes no National, Provincial, or Diocesan officers, corresponding to a National, Provincial or Diocesan organization.

contrary, when a province, or district of country is mentioned, we read of the *Churches* of that province or district; we read of "the Churches of Galatia," "the Churches of Judea," "the Churches of Asia," "the Churches of Macedonia." Had there been a Provincial or Diocesan organization, it must have been mentioned.

The only Church organization recognized in the New Testament is that of *local societies* or *congregations of believers*, joined together under Christ's rules, having their own officers, and meeting for social worship, for the observance of Christian sacraments, and for the exercise of discipline over their own members.*

The *design* of a Church organization renders a larger Church organization needless. If Christ's rules are a safe and sufficient guide, then any congregation of his people, anywhere, have all that they need for the ends of worship, instruction, and the observance of Christ's ordinances; for their mutual watchfulness, encouragement, consolation, and edification. Nothing forbids contiguous Churches to associate for mutual advice and advantage; but to no higher authority are they necessarily bound; since for a Diocesan, Provincial, National, or Catholic organization with inherent power to rule over his Churches, the Lord Jesus Christ has made no provision. Nay, he has forbidden submission to such power. "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; *but it shall not be so among you.*"

The plea for the exercise of such authority over the Churches; for the imposition of canons, ceremonies, and liturgies, is, the preservation of unity; the prevention of schism; or the attainment of uniformity. But turn over every page of history, from the time when Victor of Rome excommunicated one half of the Christian world—trace the exercise of such "*dominion*" where it leads you; and you must follow it through fields of slaughter; through the dungeons of the Inquisitions; through the jails and prisons of England;—the only result has been to create oppression, persecution, corruptions, schisms, distractions without end. When shall it be that all Christ's people shall vindicate their Christian liberties?

Having gone so far, we might rest here; there is no authority for a National, Provincial, or Diocesan Church in the Word of God. We are not bound to inquire any further. Were it God's design that we should bear allegiance to such authority, it would have been mentioned or implied, or alluded to, in his Holy Word. Since it is not mentioned there, those who demand of us submis-

* The reference to the Apostles, and elders, and brethren, at Jerusalem, made by the Church at Antioch, concerning the matter of circumcision, was no exception to this; it was simply a question of advice, made by one Church to another.

sion to such authority, come without warrant. Prove to us that such organizations and authorities existed in the very next age (which cannot be proved)—that is no warrant; it imposes no obligation. The Lord meant to have an end of law-making for his Church, when he made an end of it in his Word.

But though we are not bound to inquire any further, it may be well just to look at the nature of the *claims* for a further authority.

After searching very extensively in the standard writings of Prelacy, I have found no attempt at proof of a Diocesan organization from the New Testament, save some very shrewd *conjectures* as to what *might* have been the case in certain instances. It is conjectured that some Churches, as those of Antioch and Jerusalem, *might* have been so numerous as to require several distinct congregations organized as Churches, which were again combined in *one Church*, thus making a diocese. On the ground of this conjecture, it is confidently asserted that it *must have been so*; and thereupon Prelacy sweeps over the whole ground, and declares that churches everywhere are bound to submit to Diocesan authority. But suppose we admit this conjecture to be correct, that the Church at Jerusalem and that at Antioch at length became Diocesan. It applies only to one or two large cities;—while all the rest of Christendom is left destitute of dioceses; there being no recognition of any other such organization, and no necessity or ground for supposing from the New Testament that there were any such. The proper inference is that *both modes* have an example in Apostolical times; and that neither is of any exclusive authority.

If, however, we find that the conjecture is incorrect, and that so far as the New Testament goes, these great Churches continued still to meet *together*, then the last pretence of an organized Diocesan Church in the days of the Apostles, vanishes away.

The Prelatical argument is, that the Church of Antioch and Jerusalem *must have been too numerous to meet together*; and that, therefore, each *must have been* composed of several churches united in a Diocese. No direct evidence is adduced; the argument is wholly conjectural or inferential.

And first with regard to Jerusalem. It is urged that three thousand were converted on the day of Pentecost; that subsequently there were added to the Church daily. Again, that the number of the men who believed, was about five thousand; and how could so numerous a Church continue to *meet together*? If we shall show, that to the last New Testament record in the case, they did “come together,” we need not trouble ourselves about the difficulties. That proof I reserve, till we have considered the case of Antioch. At present I remark, in passing, that

those converted on the day of Pentecost, appear to have been principally strangers—dwellers in Mesopotamia, Parthia, Medes, Elamites, and others, who were then casually at Jerusalem, and who probably soon after returned to their homes. What accommodations there were for a large multitude to come together, may be inferred from the fact, that out of the hearers on the day of Pentecost, three thousand were converted ; while it is not certain that the converts were one half or one third of the hearers. These conjectures may fairly be set over against all conjectures on the other side ; but we need not rely upon any conjectures, since we have the direct and unequivocal testimony of the Word of God.

Let us turn to Antioch ; and that we may have the full benefit of the Prelatical argument, let me here copy the words of its favorite and ablest champion—SLATER, in his "*Original Draught of the Puritan Church*," pp. 70, 71. Says Slater, "Antioch was early blessed with the glad tidings of the Gospel ; the blood of the first martyr became the seed of a Christian Church there, as the Fathers took a pleasure to speak ; for many Christians dispersed on that occasion, resorted thither ; and the first account we have of their labors is, that *the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord.*" "Tidings of this came to the Church of Jerusalem, where the whole college of Apostles was in readiness to consult for them." "They send Barnabas, *a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith*, to improve this happy opportunity, and the success answered their expectation ; for by his powerful exhortations *much people*, says the holy text, *was added* to the Lord. But to forward this work of the Lord still more, Barnabas travels to Tarsus, and joins Saul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles now, and returning with him to Antioch, *they continue a whole year together*, in that populous city, *teaching much people*. What a harvest of Christian converts those Apostolical laborers made in that compass of time, assisted by all that fled thither from Jerusalem besides, by the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, fellow laborers with them, to convert the Greeks as well as Jews to the faith ; and by the several inspired prophets, so peculiarly noted to be among them, I refer to the sober judgment of all who know the fruits of so many single sermons preached by an Apostle, at the first promulgation of the Gospel. Two things are sure, 1st. That the reputation and honor of the converts there were such, that they laid aside the derided name of Nazarenes or Galileans now, and openly assumed the name of their Lord and Master, and were first called Christians there. Secondly, That there were two distinct sets or parties of them—Judaizing Christians, zealous of the law, and Gentile converts, as earnestly

insisting on their freedom and exemption from it : each party so considerable, as to call for an Apostolical council to decide the controversy between them."

"Such was the very infant state of this Church of Antioch ; the oversight whereof, antiquity tells us, the great Apostle St. Peter, in a peculiar manner took upon himself, and for six or seven years at least, made it his first, and special apostolic see."

This is all that Prelacy can allege to show from the New Testament, that there *might* have been or must have been, a Diocesan Church at Antioch ; the force of the argument consists in whatever ground there may be to conjecture, that the Church at Antioch was too large to *come together*.

Let us compare these conjectures with the Word of God. Slater says, "Tidings came to the Church of Jerusalem, where the whole college of Apostles was in readiness to consult for them. They" (the college of Apostles) "send Barnabas." Turn to Acts xi. 22, "Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of THE CHURCH which was in Jerusalem ; and THEY sent forth Barnabas." There is no breath about a "College of Apostles."

Slater again : "They continue a whole year in that populous city, *teaching much people*." The sacred record says, Acts xi. 26, that "A whole year they assembled themselves WITH THE CHURCH and taught much people."

Slater continues to argue from various probabilities, "What a harvest of converts those Apostolic laborers made ;" he accumulates circumstances and considerations, to show how numerous these converts must have been. To what end does he do this ? Why, simply to show that the Church at Antioch must, from its numbers, have become a Diocese embracing several congregations : being *too large to meet TOGETHER*.

This, then, is the question : *Can* this Church at Antioch *come together* ; or can it not ? If it can ; and if the same continues true of the Church in Jerusalem, the last pretence of a Scriptural Diocesan Church, for ever vanishes away.

What says the Scripture ? In Acts xiv. 24, 27, Barnabas and Saul, having been sent from the Church at Antioch through several regions on a special work, passing through Lystra, Derbe, Iconium, Antioch in Pisidia, and throughout Pisidia, to Pamphilia and Attalia, come at length to ANTIOCH, "from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God for the work which they fulfilled." "And when they were come and had GATHERED THE CHURCH TOGETHER." This was after the time of the great in-gathering of converts at Antioch. No necessity for a Diocese on account of the impossibility of the Church's coming together yet ; for they not only "gathered the Church together," but when they had done so, they "*rehearsed all that God had done with*

them." But this is not all; the record goes on to relate that "*they continued a long time with the disciples.*" And in that long time, what further came to pass? Why, a dissension arises about the doctrine of certain Judaizing teachers from Judea. "THE BRETHREN" at Antioch determine that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and elders about this question. Trace these *ministers and delegates.* "And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received OF THE CHURCH, AND OF THE APOSTLES AND ELDERS." * * "Then *all the multitude* kept silence and gave audience to Barnabas and Saul." * * * "Then it pleased the Apostles and elders with the WHOLE CHURCH to send chosen men of their own company." They wrote in the name of "The Apostles, and elders, and brethren." So when these chosen men were dismissed, "They came to Antioch; and when they HAD GATHERED THE MULTITUDE TOGETHER, they delivered the epistle." At the latest record, the Church of Antioch and the Church at Jerusalem *come together*, and act IN A BODY, as Congregational Churches.

It is unnecessary to say more. The New Testament record is so circumstantial and varied, that had there been a Diocesan organization, in the times within the scope of its history, some hint or allusion to its existence, must have been left on the sacred page.

As to the Fathers; there could not have been a Diocesan Church in their times, till they had altered the constitution of Church government traced in the Word of God. All that the Lord intended to render obligatory, he doubtless caused to be put on the record, either in direct terms, or by some implication or allusion; otherwise we are thrown upon tradition, or Church authority. The Bible, in that case, is not our guide or rule; and we know not where we may be tossed or driven. No testimony of the Fathers, therefore, no possible arguments can render that binding, in the very principles and fundamentals of Church organization and government, of which no trace is written on the pages of the Sacred Word.

XXII.

MATERIALS, STRUCTURE, AND DISCIPLINE OF A CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Scriptural Authority. The arrangements of Prelacy contrary to Scripture.

1. *Of what materials is a Christian Church to be composed?*

In the present state of the world, may the Church, wherever she goes, gather the whole population, by "street rows," parishes, or by entire nations, indiscriminately into her bosom?

Paul writes to "The Church of God at Corinth," thus (1 Cor. v.): "*I write unto you, not to company with fornicators; yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolators, for then ye must needs go out of the world; but now I have written unto you, not to keep company, IF ANY MAN THAT IS CALLED A BROTHER, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; WITH SUCH A ONE NO NOT TO EAT; for what have I to do to judge them also that are without? Do not ye judge them that are within.*"

Here are established certain principles:

1. That each Church is to "*judge*" of the qualifications and character of its members.

2. That merely being "*called a brother*," i. e. being regarded as a nominal Christian (holding the belief of Christianity rather than of Judaism, Paganism, Mohammedanism, or Infidelity), does not entitle one to be regarded as a member of a Church, while his conduct falsifies and shames such a profession. The Church must cast him out, even if he is within; much more, being without, *they may not admit* one of such a character to their communion; i. e. they are bound to judge concerning the character and qualifications of their members; and to *cast out*, much more to *keep out* the grossly immoral; whatever their professions. With *such a one*, says the Apostle, "No not to EAT;"—not by the slightest act of recognition, to own him as a brother in the Church. As one of the world, you may hold necessary dealings and intercourse with him, as with a heathen

man and a publican; but his pretensions as a Christian brother, you are not to countenance.

Such instructions Paul had already given to the Corinthian Church; and now he sharply rebukes them that they had not cast out a notorious fornicator. "*Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out therefore the old leaven;*" that is, put such a wicked person away. But a Church gathered by "street rows," in any part of Christendom, will have more than "a little leaven" in it; the majority of such Churches will consist of a large proportion of leaven, as the world now goes. In such a Church discipline is impossible; as the very idea of discipline, in such a case, is an absurdity. Such a Church is *corruptly constituted, and being made up mainly of those who spiritually reject Christ, it will reject Christ's laws.*

Nor does it alter the case, that these people are gathered (as is pretended) under a true successional priesthood; and under the notion that baptism and the Lord's Supper, administered by that priesthood, *confer* regeneration and impart a sanctifying virtue. Nothing is more notoriously untrue. The people of the National Church of England have all been baptized; but nothing is more notorious and undeniable, than that multitudes of them are fornicators, profane swearers, and otherwise as utterly destitute of all religion as the inhabitants of Sodom or Gomorrah. The same is true of every National Church, and of all particular Churches indiscriminately gathered. *And when, or where, has an instance occurred of such a discipline as the Gospel enjoins; viz. the casting out, or excommunication, of grossly vicious or immoral persons, in all the Episcopal Churches in England or the United States?*

A little attention to facts, will show a state of things, which calls for deep reflection on the part of all true Christians, who stand connected with churches gathered on this indiscriminate principle. The Oxford Tract, No. 59,* says "Every churchwarden in every parish in England, is called upon once a year, to attend the visitation of his Archdeacon. At this time, oaths are tendered to him * * * and among other things he swears, that he will present to the Archdeacon the names of all such inhabitants of his parish as are leading notoriously immoral lives. This oath is regularly taken once a year, by every churchwarden in every parish in England; yet I believe, that *such a thing as any single presentation for notoriously immoral conduct has scarcely been heard of in a century.*" Again, Tract No. 41† says, "I think the Church has in a measure forgotten its own principles, as declared in the sixteenth century; nay, under

* Quoted in Coleman's Primitive Church.

† Quoted in Coleman, p. 122.

stranger circumstances * * than have attended any of the errors and corruptions of the Papists. Grievous as are their declensions from primitive usage, I never heard in any case, of their practice directly contradicting their services; whereas we go on lamenting once a year the absence of discipline in our church, yet do not dream of taking any one step towards its restoration."

Thus speak the Tractarians, with regard to the English Church. With regard to the Episcopal Church in this country, hear Dr. Hawkes, in his "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History, &c." [pp. 359, 360]: *It is true, the power of excommunication does belong to the Church; it does, too, deprive of all the privileges of church membership; and it is the most awful power ever confided by heaven to man; rightfully exercised, its consequences (though the world may scorn them) are of the most terrific character, if the Scriptures be true.*"

Since, then, excommunication is a power given to the Church; and since the exercise of that power, in worthy cases, is *enjoined* by the Word of God, does the Episcopal Church in this country ever exercise that power? Or if not, is it because there are no subjects, within her pale, whose character demands it? Hear Dr. Hawkes in continuation:

"It is true the power of excommunication does belong to the Church." * * * * "BUT WHO EVER HEARD OF THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF A *layman* by our BRANCH OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH? The law is a dead letter. Neither the General Convention nor any state Convention have ever provided any rules or process for excommunication. THERE IS NOT A CLERGYMAN IN THE CHURCH, WHO, IF HE WERE EVER SO DESIROUS TO EXCOMMUNICATE AN OFFENDER, WOULD KNOW HOW TO TAKE THE VERY FIRST STEP IN THE PROCESS. It certainly is not to be done according to his mere whim; and if it were so done, it is as certainly invalid. *Shall then the PRESBYTER alone do it; or shall it be done by his BISHOP; or by a CONCLAVE OF BISHOPS; or of BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS; or by a STATE CONVENTION, including the laity; or by the GENERAL CONVENTION, including the laity again?* NO MAN CAN ANSWER, FOR THERE IS NO RULE ON THE SUBJECT; and we are glad that it is so: for our excommunication, bringing in its train no penalty which would be felt, *depriving a man of no civil rights*, would be laughed at as mere *brutum fulmen*. The spiritual consequences would not be thought of." * * * * "To our apprehension, the rubric is, on this subject, quite law enough, unless we *had power to make the discipline of the Church to be more felt as a punishment.*"

Alas! that a minister of Christ should acknowledge it to be

Christ's ordinance, that vicious and incorrigible offenders should be excommunicated by the Church; and then, declaring that "No man can answer" how, or by whom, that is to be done; and that no minister in the Church can tell "how to take the very first step in the process;" should express his pleasure "that it is so;"—" *We are glad it is so!*" Glad that Christ's laws are neutralized and nullified in the Church! And Dr. Hawkes really thinks and declares, that excommunication would all be idle and laughable, and is therefore useless, unless the Church had power to "*deprive a man of some civil rights*;" or "to make the discipline of the Church more felt as a punishment!" Has Christ then been unwise in enjoining the discipline of excommunication, unless he would give his Church some of the power of the kingdoms of this world? Were not the subject so solemn, how supremely ridiculous it would be, after all the loud vauntings of the "*Apostolic Church*," to hear this confession; that no man in the Church knows how to take the very first step in a process which Christ has so clearly marked out and enjoined. *How* to do it; *who* can do it: Presbyter, Bishop, General Convention, State Convention, a conclave of Bishops, a conclave of Bishops and Presbyters, or conclave including the laity, either the State laity, or the general laity:—really Dr. Hawkes, with all his elaborate research into "Constitutions and Canons," cannot tell! He is sure no clergyman or layman in their whole Church can tell; and he is glad of it!

If he will just throw away his "Constitutions and Canons," and go to the Bible, he will find the matter pointed out very minutely by our Lord's own finger, in the eighteenth of Matthew;—Go to the offender alone; if he refuse to hear thee, take another with thee; if you cannot gain him so, then "*TELL IT TO THE CHURCH*:" That is the injunction: "*Tell it to the CHURCH*:" not to the Archdeacon; not to the Rector; not to the Bishop; not to the General or State convention; no, nor to any *conclaves* of dignitaries,—*but TO THE CHURCH*:" and if he refuse to hear *THE CHURCH*, "*let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican*;" as a bad man, having no standing or privileges as a member of the Church. Call for no civil penalties; if the offender does not *feel* this "as a punishment," then reform your Church, so that it will be something to turn a man out of it into the world.

If there should arise any doubt whether the Rector is not "the Church," or whether the Bishop is not the Church, turn to 1 Cor. v., and you will find that it is such a Church as can be "*gathered together*;" and certainly a *Bishop* or a *Rector* would appear very singular in "*gathering*" himself, all alone, "*together*," for the purpose of hearing and deciding in matters of discipline. If any

doubt still remains, whether it be not some State or general *conclave* that constitutes the Church, turn to 1 Cor. i. 2, and you will find that Paul speaks of a *local* Church, "*The Church of God which is at Corinth*;" and it is made up of them that are "*called to be saints*;" who, at least by their profession, and in the judgment of charity, are in some measure "*sanctified in Christ Jesus*."

It is most manifest, and undeniable, that the Episcopal Church has made void an acknowledged ordinance of Christ, by its traditions and canons. And this error springs from another still more radical; from sweeping the world indiscriminately, with a drag-net, into the bosom of the Church. No discipline, such as Christ enjoins, ever has been maintained, or ever can be maintained in a Church so constituted. In one word; THE WORLD, under any form or principle of organization, CAN NEVER FORM A GOOD INSTRUMENTALITY FOR MAINTAINING THE TRUTH OF CHRIST, AND THE DISCIPLINE OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

Of what MATERIALS, then, is a Church of Christ to be composed? I answer, of those who CREDIBLY PROFESS *to be the real disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ*. If any *confessedly* have no repentance toward God, and no faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, it is a gross absurdity to think of gathering *them* into the Church of Christ. If any make such a profession, and yet profess it not *credibly*;—evidently mistaking the nature of faith and repentance, or in works and character, falsifying their profession, they are not to be received; for such, in case of definable crimes and immoralities, are, upon proof, to be cast out; even after they have found admission. How much more are they not to be admitted?

The New Testament, when it speaks of a Christian Church, always presumes that it is made up of visible saints by the calling of God. Thus 1 Cor. i. 2; "*Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth*;" "*to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus*,"—"called to be saints." So Ephesians i. 1: "*To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus*." And, throughout, their true conversion and faith are assumed. Paul speaks of them as "*having trusted in Christ*,"—"obtained inheritance"—"*sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise*"—"And you hath he quickened." To the Church of the Philippians he writes, "*To all the saints in Christ Jesus*." "To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse."

It is not pretended that a visible Church must be made up exclusively of true Christians. Some deceive themselves; some are very possibly hypocrites; some show that they are "false brethren." All that we affirm is, that the materials of the Church

must be such as *credibly profess* a true allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Having taken this view of the proper Church *materials*, we come

3. TO THE MANNER OF PUTTING THESE MATERIALS TOGETHER IN ORDER TO CONSTITUTE A CHURCH.

A number of baptized believers dwelling in the same vicinity, do not, necessarily constitute a Church. They must associate together for the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, and for other ends of Church fellowship. Doing this, they are a Church, even before they have appointed a single officer, and without regard to the peculiar organization which they may adopt. An imperfect or inexpedient manner of organization and of polity, does not destroy their Church existence; unless it is such an organization as necessarily defeats the very ends for which a Church was instituted. The words of the Cambridge Platform (c. v. 1) are to the purpose: "A Church being a company of people combined together by covenant for the worship of God, it appeareth thereby, that there may be the essence and being of a Church without any officers; seeing there is both the form and matter of a Church; which is implied when it is said, The Apostles ordained elders in every Church," i. e. there were churches before there were Church officers; as there must be society before there are rules.

But *how* do Christians become thus associated? The formal manner is indifferent; provided there is the substance. If these come together with a mutual, though informal, understanding; and *act* together as a Church, they thereby bind themselves to the duties of Church members in that Church. This appears to have been the usual mode of gathering Churches under the labors of the Apostles; nothing further appears on the record. A disorderly or vicious brother might be admonished or cast out according to Christ's laws, as well as though the covenant had been ever so formal.

People afterwards joined the Church on profession of their

* Let those who would see the matters of Church *materials*, power, structure, and things of that sort, ably and conclusively handled, turn to the first six chapters of the Cambridge Platform. Every word of those chapters was well pondered. Its statements and definitions are given in the most studied and guarded terms: showing the whole to be the work of men who had spent more time, and expended more toil, in studying these subjects than have been given to them by most divines in modern days. The subject had been earnestly discussed for more than an age; the various difficulties, and the bearing of various principles, were most clearly seen by the men who drew up that Platform. The various treatises and tracts of Owen on the same subjects, will richly repay any one who feels it worth his time to give these matters an examination. The recent works of Punchard and Coleman are also a rich contribution to this branch of theology. The cause of truth and godliness bears a more intimate relation to Church order and government, than those who have thought little on the subject are apt to suppose.

faith, being baptized, and being received to, and enjoying the privileges of Church members; they thereby assumed the duties of members of the Church. On these principles our Puritan Fathers acted, but they made the confession and covenant formal. There are advantages in this formal mode of confession and covenant, while no possible mode of confessing Christ, and availing one's self of the privileges of Church membership, involves less than the substance of what is here done in form.*

4. IN CASES OF DISCIPLINE, TO WHOM IS THE OFFENCE TO BE TOLD; AND WHEN NECESSARY, WHO IS TO TRY AND PRONOUNCE SENTENCE UPON THE OFFENDER?

We have already referred to the answer in Matt. xviii., "TELL IT TO THE CHURCH;" "AND IF HE REFUSE TO HEAR THE CHURCH," &c. The Church, then, is the tribunal which is to hear and issue complaints, to remonstrate, rebuke, and when necessary, to excommunicate. We have already seen from 1 Cor. v. that this is such a Church as may be "*gathered together*." In Matt. xviii. Christ adds, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven;" whatsoever *ye*, the Church, shall bind; not that the excommunication of a member seals his damnation, but Christ in Heaven will require of its members a due regard to such decisions of the Church; and so far forth clothes the Church with *authority*. Paul asserts the same principle in 1 Cor. v. "*In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one to Satan*;" that is, by Christ's requisition and authority, they are to gather together for such a purpose; and when gathered together, they are clothed "*with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ*,"—with whatever power he has committed to human hands, for the authoritative exercise of discipline in the Church.

If this is Christ's LAW on this subject, then it follows: 1. That

* When a candidate seeks admission into a Congregational Church, in some cases he comes into the Church meeting, and either orally, or in a brief writing, gives the reason of the hope that is in him. In others, this is done in conversation with a committee of the Church, or with the pastor; and after being duly propounded, if no objections are made, he is received by owning the confession and covenant of the Church.

The nature of the qualifications for membership is thus stated by CORROD in his "*Way of the New England Churches*," written two hundred years ago. "In this we do not exact *eminent measure*, either of knowledge or holiness; but do *stretch out our hands to receive the weak in faith*; such in whose spirits we can discern the least measure of breathing and panting after Christ, in their sensible feeling of a lost estate; for we had rather that ninety nine hypocrites should perish through presumption, than one humble soul belonging to Christ should sink under discouragement and despair." Can any one imagine, that the Apostles and early Churches used less discrimination than this?

The principle of communion is thus nobly stated by OWEN, "And we do therefore affirm, that *we will never deny that communion unto any person, high or low, rich or poor, old or young, male or female, whose DUTY IT IS TO DESIRE IT*."

no governor, pastor, or Prelate, has power to turn men out of Christ's Church, or to impose the continuance of an unworthy member upon the Church; but the brotherhood hold the power in their own hands. 2. That every member of the Church has a right to be judged by his peers. That is, **THE CHURCH IS NOT A MONARCHY, BUT A REPUBLIC**; and from this idea, elaborated by our Puritan forefathers, and vindicated by their sufferings and firmness, is derived the very idea and germ of our **AMERICAN REPUBLIC**.

In this point of view, the organization of the Puritan Churches differs heaven-wide from all Prelatical Churches. On the Episcopal scheme, whatever discipline may be exercised, it is to be exercised arbitrarily by the Rector and Bishop. The people have not the slightest power. They can neither exclude an unworthy associate, nor defend an injured one. In this most important respect, the Bishop is King, and the Rector is a subordinate satrap; the people have no right nor duties in the case, except to acquiesce in the mandate of their masters. On the Prelatical scheme, the offence is never told "*to the Church*;" the Church is never "*gathered together*" for such a purpose; but Christ's law is set aside and forbidden.

Attempts have been made to evade the force of these two passages in Matt. xviii., and 1 Cor. v.

It is said with regard to the direction in Matt. xviii., that the Church was not then constituted; and consequently that a Christian congregation cannot be the Church intended; but that the direction means, Tell it to the synagogue. The absurdity of this evasion appears from several considerations. (1.) The disciples could understand the meaning of the word *Church* here as well as they could in the passage two chapters previous, Matt. xvi., when Christ says, "On this rock will I build my *Church*;" he could not refer to building up a Jewish synagogue. (2.) Nothing shows that the word *Church* here, is used out of its usual sense. It was one of the most common words among the disciples, from this time to the end of the New Testament. (3.) It is impossible to suppose that Christ would refer his disciples to the Jewish synagogue as a proper tribunal when the Jews had already agreed, that if any man should confess Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. Surely Christ did not require his disciples to treat such a person, so cast out of a Jewish synagogue, as "a heathen man and a publican."

With regard to 1 Cor. v., an invasion is attempted which is thus set forth by Mr. Chapin in his "*Primitive Church*." "*The sentence*," he says, "*was by the Apostle, the execution of it was committed to the Church*, either as a part of their official duty, or in consequence of the Apostle's absence." (p. 139.)

But Paul's direction is no *sentence*, he is only *laying down the law*, under which, the Church is the tribunal to hear, determine, and execute.

1. *He had heard of the case only by report.* Is he passing sentence of condemnation on hearsay, without trial, and without specifying the *person* on whom the sentence is pronounced?

On the principle laid down by Mr. Chapin, a diocesan Bishop has only to hear a report concerning some member of a Church at a distance, and forthwith he may pronounce his sentence, which the Church must execute. They may *guess* who it is that is condemned; and if the person arrested pleads not guilty, no matter, the Church is no tribunal: they cannot institute an inquiry *whether he has done this thing*, for *sentence is passed*, and they are only executioners! The only possible inquiry which they are competent to make is, whether this is the person whom the Bishop intends; if so, away with him; he is condemned, sentenced, executed without trial! Is this the law of Prelacy? Why even a Jew could demand, "DOTH OUR LAW JUDGE ANY MAN BEFORE IT HEAR HIM?" Paul himself said with indignation, "THEY HAVE BEATEN US OPENLY UNCONDEMNED, BEING ROMANS: and now do they thrust us out privily?" Was Paul a man to pronounce sentence without a hearing? Even if he had done so, the Church must have instituted an inquiry, (1.) *who* was the man intended: and (2.) whether he had "*done this thing*;" since Paul condemns no other: so that in any case the Church is *the tribunal to hear and determine*; and Paul's direction can be regarded in no other light than as an instruction concerning the law and their duty in the case.

2. The context shows this to be the nature of Paul's injunction. "Purge out the old leaven." "I wrote to you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators." * * "But now I have written to you, not to keep company, if ANY MAN THAT IS CALLED A BROTHER, be a fornicator," &c., &c., "with SUCH AN ONE, no, not to eat." Here is no *sentence* upon a particular individual, but a GENERAL LAW applicable to the case of "ANY MAN" that is called brother, who is found to be "SUCH A ONE:!" and to make the matter entirely indubitable, the Apostle adds—"Do not YE JUDGE them that are within?"*

* Our author himself is not satisfied with his interpretation, though he hangs tremendous consequences upon it. After taking his stand, that Paul is here pronouncing a *judicial sentence*, which the Church is merely called upon to *execute*, he says (p. 139), "There is another interpretation of this passage, which may, after all, be the true one." * * * "In this view, the decree of the Apostle would have the force of a *Canon*, and the office of the Church would be the *execution* of the law." * * * The act of the Church, therefore, in either point of view, was that of *execution*." This is erroneous! If Paul is not giving a judicial sentence, but only declaring the law, or "*Canon*," then the Church does not execute a *sentence*; but institutes a process of *law*. The Church is therefore a *Tribunal*; to hear, decide,

On turning to 2 Cor. ii. 6, we find that the Church had exercised discipline upon the offender to good purpose. He had repented; and now Paul exhorts the Church to restore him. "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of *many*; so that contrarywise, *ye* ought rather to forgive him."

Such is Christ's LAW on the subject of discipline. Such are the powers and responsibilities which Christ has reposed in *the Church*. Who has a right to take them away? By what authority does a Church of Christ ever *surrender* these powers and responsibilities into the hands of Prelates? Can they do it without altering the very constitution which Christ has given to his Church, and trampling the fundamental laws of his kingdom under their feet?*

and pronounce sentence, according to law; i. e., *The power of discipline is, by the Word of God, reposed in the Church*. He appears to value his book as the work of a *lawyer*: but what will lawyers say to the legal acumen, that can see no distinction between a "*Canon*" or general rule or principle of law, and a *sentence* awarding the *penalty* of that canon to a particular transgressor? And what will the *lawyers* say to a judgment on hearsay; a sentence *without a trial*; a sentence to be executed without designating the *person*?

* Dr. Hawkes, in his "Constitution and Canons," says that the "Rubrics" before the communion service, requiring the minister to repel evil livers from the communion, and to give notice to the Bishop, is all the provision for any discipline upon ordinary members of the Church. He says, p. 362, "*We know of no other law of the Church, which practically reaches the case of an offending layman but this*; and there are very few Dioceses in which any provision is made by canon for investigating or trying the case of a layman. He must, therefore, so offend as to come within the terms of the rubric, or we know not how he is to be disciplined."

What usurpation and perversion is here! The priest's judgment, caprice, or will, without any trial or defence, takes away one of the dearest rights of Christ's people. The Bishop only can institute an inquiry, on complaint in writing by the repelled party; and then there are very few Dioceses in which any provision exists for investigating or trying the case of a layman! The layman, therefore, has no remedy but in the good pleasure or mercy of his rector or Bishop. He can demand nothing of right. A punishment which Christ did not enjoin, is to be inflicted by an authority different from that to which Christ entrusted the power of discipline; punishment is inflicted arbitrarily, without trial, and in most Dioceses without any method of redress! Can there be a more flagrant or fundamental departure, in matters of discipline, from the laws of Christ's house? And that Church talks about *Apostolicity*, and *Primitive order*!

XXIII.

THE CHURCH, AS TO EARTHLY RULE, A REPUBLIC, AND NOT A MONARCHY.

Observation of distinguished Civilians. Inseparable connection between doctrine and the genius of government. Prelacy incompatible with Christ's injunctions. Claim of Bishops to be irresponsible sovereigns. Republican principles recognized by the Apostles. Popular elections. Mistake with regard to the word Ordain.

It is remarkable how men of comprehensive views, and free from sectarian bias, have agreed with regard to THE REPUBLICANISM OF CHRISTIANITY. "Christianity," says Montesquieu, "is a stranger to despotic power." "The religion," says De Tocqueville, "which declares that all are equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law. Religion is the companion of liberty in all its battles and all its conflicts; the cradle of its infancy and the divine source of its claims." "The friends of liberty in France are accustomed to speak in enthusiastic commendation of the *Republicanism* of the Scriptures." The Abbé de la Mennais, acknowledged as one of the most powerful minds in Europe, little as he regards Christianity as a revelation from God, familiarly speaks of its Author as "*The Great Republican*." Our own De Witt Clinton said, "Christianity, in its essence, its doctrines, and its forms, is republican."*

In the view of Christianity all men are "of one blood." Christianity extends its laws over the rich and over the poor, the peasant and the prince, the bondman and the free alike. In its doctrines, its demands, and its eternal retributions, it is a leveller like the grave. There is one way of salvation for the Apostle and the publican. The most exalted in the Church is only "as he that doth serve;" he has no prerogative to come with any "Priestly intervention" between the merest beggar and the Throne; the merest beggar may come and must come before the mercy seat for himself. So surely do these doctrines tend to republicanism, and to break up all spiritual despotisms, that no

* These citations are from Dr. Spring's "Obligations of the World to the Bible."

Hierarchy, Protestant or Romish, dares hold fearlessly to the Bible alone as the rule of faith, and to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, to the renunciation of all priestly interventions for the forgiveness of sins. The sure tendency of Prelacy is through Puseyism to Popery : so essentially and inseparably are the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel connected, in the long run and on a broad scale, with the genius of the government adopted in the Church. Give people the Bible alone for their rule, and justification by faith alone, and they will neutralize or cast off the Hierarchy. Impose upon them the dogmas of priestly interventions through a successional priesthood, and they cannot remain free. If any one imagines this to be mere theory, we fearlessly challenge him to point us to any facts that contradict it in the whole history of Christianity. **LOW CHURCH AND EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE GO TOGETHER. HIGH CHURCH STANDS ASSOCIATED WITH PUSEYISM OR POPERY THE WORLD OVER ;** thus it has been, is now, and ever must be, till causes shall be disjoined from their effects, and the world turn once more to chaos.

The tendency of the true Gospel principles is to bring the most absolute despotism under the limits of law ; to imbue limited monarchies more and more with the spirit of popular institutions ; to prepare the people to govern themselves ; and finally to establish everywhere the spirit and the reality, if not the very forms of a republic.

The great founder of Christianity seemed to have in view this elevation and ultimate freedom of the whole race, when he enjoined it upon his disciples to "call no man master;" thus binding the conscience to God's throne, and setting it free from all human domination. The great design seems to be, like that of Eden, to exalt and discipline the individual soul, and to prepare it for citizenship in God's free, but holy and everlasting kingdom. In the same manner he left his worship simple and free; forbidding all his disciples to judge their brethren in "meats" or "days;" and by parity of reason, forbidding them to judge each other, in rites and forms; and forbidding all alike to be subject, in such matters, to the ordinances and commandments of men. In the same manner, pointing to "Lordship," and nobility, among the nations, he said to his Church, "*It shall not be so among you.*" He carefully laid down such rules of discipline, as leave the authority in the hands of *the Church*; thus making it a republic. And surely, if any one maintains that a *brotherhood of Christians*, under the few simple rules, and for the simple ends of Church government, are incompetent to govern themselves, he ought for ever to abandon the idea, that the *indiscriminate people*, of an extended state, with all the complication of interests and laws which come under the purview of civil gov-

ernment, will ever be competent to manage the concerns of a republican government. If Christ's people, few and simple as are the ends of Church government, are not competent to govern themselves in Church estate, then the very idea of republican government ought to be abandoned in all the earth.

But the very elements of popular rights in the discipline and government of the Church, Prelacy has taken quite away.*

She has subverted the very genius and spirit of the polity of the Christian Church; making it a MONARCHY instead of a REPUBLIC. There are indeed some popular elements interwoven

* Is it the genius of Prelacy to invert *all* the fundamentals of Church polity laid down in the Word of God? Christ gathers only professed and apparent believers into his Church. Prelacy gathers her Churches in indiscriminate masses, by parishes and nations; thus confounding the Church and the world. Christ enjoins the *duty* of private judgment; Prelacy denies even the *right*. Christ enjoins us to call no man master, but to search the Scriptures; Prelacy denies that the Bible alone is a safe or sufficient guide; it binds us to the traditions and interpretations of men. Christ forbids his disciples to be brought under the yoke of bondage, by subjecting themselves to the ordinances and commandments of men; Prelacy frames her canons, prescribes her ceremonies, garments, and postures; issues her ordinances, and if any man will not be subject to these, he shall have no part nor lot in the Church. Christ says, "Tell it to the Church." No, says Prelacy, "Tell it to the Bishop." Christ bids us depart from an apostle or an angel from Heaven when they preach another Gospel; Prelacy forbids us to depart from the Bishop, though he be a limb of Antichrist; nay, she draws her life-blood from such a *succession*, and counts it her virtue and her glory. Christ is jealous over his people, and fears "lest by any means, as the Serpent beguiled Eve," so their minds should be "corrupted from the *simplicity that is in Christ*." Christ's Gospel is jealous over them who are tempted to rely on forms, and holy days; "*I am afraid of you*; you observe days, and months, and times, and years;" Prelacy disfigures the whole calendar with Saints' days, Angels' days, Lent, Ember days, and other arrangements of "voluntary will worship;" she prepares her forms, and canons, and rituals, and robes, and thinks the *simplicity* that is in Christ, *too* simple and bald; and betters it much, she supposes, by ceremonials and observances of her own devising.

Suppose a company of the primitive disciples could come back, and by some means stumble upon the LITURGY of the Episcopal Church; turning over its pages they read such titles as these: "*The Circumcision*," "*Fifth Sunday after Epiphany*," "*Fourth Sunday in Advent*," "*Septuagesima Sunday*," "*Fifth Sunday in Lent*," "*Monday before Easter*," "*Good Friday*," "*Easter Even*," "*Tuesday in Easter week*," "*Whitsunday*," "*Trinity Sunday*," "*St. Stephen's day*," "*The Innocents' day*," "*Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*," "*St. Peter's day*," "*St. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS*," "*St. Simon and St. Jude*," "*All Saints' day*," and so on, and so on.

What a strange spectacle would all this be to these old disciples! Well might they inquire, "What does this mean? Where, in the name of wonder, did you get all these? Lent, Saints' days, Angels' days?" Why, this is what Paul meant when he said to some of our neighbors of old, "I am afraid of you; you observe days, and seasons, and months, and years." Who could wonder, if these ancient disciples, reading here about "*St. Michael's day, and all angels*," should call for the old epistle which they used to hear read at Colosse; and laying their finger on the 16th verse should read thus: "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a *holy day*," "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a *voluntary humility and worshipping of angels*!" "Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as living in the world, are ye SUBJECT TO ORDINANCES, * * after the COMMANDMENTS OF MEN, (touch not, taste not, handle not), Which things have indeed a show of wisdom, in *will-worship*, and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honor, to the satisfying of the flesh." How strange, too, it would appear to these ancient Christians, to turn to the table in the front of the Prayer-Book, and see the "Church" gravely giving out "Lessons" from the APOCRYPHA, to be read as portions of the Word of God.

into the organization both of the state and general conventions in this country ; but they are unlike the same system anywhere else in the world, and inconsistent with its fundamental principles. They arose from the necessity of making the system, in some degree, conformable to the popular sentiments and institutions of the American people ; and they were unwillingly adopted by the staunch Prelatists of the day.

The Prelatical principles are truly set forth by Mr. Chapin in his recent work on the Primitive Church. Whoever will consult that work (which, in Connecticut at least, is regarded as a standard work on Episcopacy), will find (p. 175) that he gives to Bishops "exclusively," "the power to judge in the Church." (p. 175, and p. 32.) He makes them not only Christ's ministers but Christ's "representatives" (p. 33), maintaining that Christ has "*made over, or committed to them, as by devise or bequest, the kingdom which the Father had appointed or committed to him,*" "*that they might sit on thrones,*" * * * "*judging (in a judicial sense) * * the Church.*" (pp. 173, 174.) All this he builds upon what he calls the *Apostolic commission* (in the sense of commission to the *rank* and *office* of Apostle), viz. "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." A plain Christian would find here no commission to an official *rank*, but a commission to execute an important *work*, to act as Christ's *servants*, to carry his *Gospel*, and proclaim his grace. But in the transforming hands of Prelacy, this rises into a Prelatical commission, creating an order of viceroys and vicegerents ! Our author argues at length that the "*even so*" refers (not to the sending) but to the official *rank* and *headship of Christ* ; that the Bishops are vested with the RANK and PREROGATIVES WHICH CHRIST HELD as head and *sovereign* of the Church ! This he draws out into formal particulars of "*powers granted in this commission.*" 1. Of *preaching*. 2. Of *baptizing*. 3. The power "of admitting to, or rejecting from the Church." 4. Of *ordaining*. 5. Of kingly authority like that of Christ. 6. (In his own words), "CHRIST had *power to forgive sins*, and he gave authority to his Apostles to absolve and remit the sins of repenting sinners." 7. Sovereign power of judging the Church, in a judicial sense. The sum of the whole view is, THAT WHATEVER POWER, PREROGATIVE, OR SOVEREIGNTY, CHRIST HAD OVER THE CHURCH, HE TRANSFERRED IT, DEVISED IT, MADE IT OVER BY BEQUEST, CONFERRED IT BY COMMISSION, *upon the Apostles ; and that sovereignty the Bishops NOW HOLD.* The "*EVEN SO send I you,*" he holds, conveys all. "The commission as it here reads," says he (p. 171), "is one of the most important things of which we can conceive, yet the rule of construction furnished by the Scriptures, tends *rather to enlarge than to limit the powers granted in it.*" Surely if ever the Pope claimed

more than this, or made himself more the "Vicar and Vicegerent of Jesus Christ," than is here claimed for a Protestant Diocesan Bishop, I know not where to find that more extravagant claim. Surely our Diocesans are not chargeable with making claims too modest or moderate!

Thus, the Church is made no more a *republic*, but a *sovereignty*, tied to an exclusive and indefeasible succession. The world has recently seen how these claims are carried out in practice. Bishop Onderdonk of New York claims as Bishop, sovereign and divine right to control and overrule the action of a *deliberative assembly*, whose whole constitution and organization and functions are a matter of conventual arrangement. By virtue of this divine right he shouts, "Sit down, sir; not a word, sir;" and the assembly reverently obey their master! Sixty clergymen go in procession to congratulate him and to thank him for his manful vindication of his divine prerogatives; and then kneel down and receive his Apostolical benediction in return! In his address to his convention, every inch a Bishop, he denies that the clergy, and pre-eminently that the Bishop, owes "any responsibility to the Church as a body." In the Church, he maintains that "Responsibility * * unlike that of human organizations, is toward concentration, not diffusion." "*Power and prerogative in the Church came from Christ to the first order in the ministry; THENCE to the lower orders, and to the brethren and laity of the Church. As the last gave no power nor prerogative, it is difficult to conceive how they can demand responsibility to them as a right.*" * * "The primary powers of the Church, then, are not diffused, but concentrated; *they are NOT IN THE MEMBERS, but the HEAD.*" This is not merely the statement of Prelatical principles, by the head of the first Diocese in these United States; but it is a correct statement of the principle, held and avowed by the universal Prelacy of the world. That is, The Church is no republic, but a monarchy; a monarchy not of the people, nor by the people, but of *Divine right*, indefeasible, and with *no responsibility* to the people; but only a mutual responsibility of the several sovereigns of the "one body," to the sovereigns in conclave.

"A popular election to the ministry," says the Bishop of Connecticut, "derives not the least support from the Scriptures. * * There is no other Scriptural foundation for the sacred ministry, than that which is contained in the divine commission of the Apostles. From them the authority is derived *through the succession of Apostolic Bishops* down to the present time."

From these dreary principles of spiritual despotism let us turn once more to the republican features of the churches organized by the Apostles. These churches had officers, which were to be

regarded and observed, in their proper sphere, as much as the officers of any other republic. But the manner of their ruling was not to be as "Lords over God's heritage;" "Whosoever will be chief among you," said the Saviour, "let him be your servant."

The Apostles themselves gave several striking illustrations of their regard for popular rights. The first public act of the Church, after our Lord's ascension, was the choice of an Apostle in the place of Judas. Peter stands up in the *midst of the disciples*—the number of names together was about one hundred and twenty—and proposes the matter. The election is made by the body of the Church.

Here is the strongest possible case. If the people are ever to be passed by, in the appointment of their ministers, surely it should be so here. Yet this is done by a popular election, and that, in the very presence, and at the instance of the Apostles themselves: and the Holy Ghost records it for our instruction in such matters, if any instruction is given on the subject. How much more is this rule to be regarded in the appointment of an ordinary minister?

Attempts have been made to set aside the plain record of facts in the first chapter of the Acts. *Slater*, among others, deems it necessary for the cause of Prelacy (as indeed it is) to overturn the commonly received and natural interpretation of this simple narrative. He contends that Peter is addressing the Apostles, and not the brethren; and that the Apostles—not the brethren—made the choice. I am willing to refer the reader to the record for himself without one word of comment. For the satisfaction of those who believe in the Fathers, it is sufficient to adduce authority which good prelatists may not gainsay: *Chrysostom* says, "Peter did everything here with the common consent." * * He *left the judgment to the multitude*.^{*}

Cyprian confirms the exposition of Chrysostom.[†]

The appointment of *Deacons* was suggested by the Apostles, as it was fit that inspiration should direct what officers were to

* "The judicious HOOKER," vol ii., p. 122, sneers at "the pretended right of the people to *elect* their ministers before the Bishop may lawfully ordain;" and declares that by his arguments against a popular election "is drowned whatsoever the people, under any pretence or color, may seem to challenge, about admission and choice of the pastors that shall feed their souls."

Slater (p. 111) thinks that "reason, common sense, and experience, go against popular elections;" and that "the will of a few select ones [prelates] is safer than the votes of a mixed multitude;" declares that there are "no footsteps of it [popular elections] in the Holy code of Christ's laws;" and that "not this man but Barabbas is a tremendous instance of a popular election in the most eminent congregation of the only church of God then amongst men." He forgets to tell us what hand the "*Chief Priests*" had in exciting this tumult, and in rejecting Christ. Would it have been any better had it been left to the Chief Priest alone?

† Coleman.

be established in the Church; but the *election* was by the people. The record is in Acts vi.

The same appears to have been the mode of electing Elders, or Pastors. Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiv), passing through an extensive district of country, "*ordained them Elders in every church.*" Immediately upon this word *ordained*, there arises before the mind of Prelacy a vision of some *sacred rite*, the communication of some *ghostly virtue or power*. But in the original, the word is the one in common use to denote an *election* by the *suffrages of the people*. The Greeks gave a popular vote by *raising the hand*: and hence their word *vote*, or *elect*, is a compound one of *χειρ*, the hand, and *τινω*, to lift. Thus *Demosthenes* says, "The people *εχειροτορει*, voted in my proposals;" i. e. gave their vote by *lifting the hand*. Every tyro in classic Greek will remember the fable of the birds assembling to *elect* a king; where the same word is used in the case of one who thought himself worthy TO BE ELECTED. Birds have no hands to lift, but the word was so common that it came to signify an election in any mode. So *Thucydides* says, "They were at an election," *χειροτονια*. *Cicero* refers to this manner of voting among the Greeks: "Their manner of voting is known, they lift up the hand." The same word is used (*χειροτονηθευτες*) in 2 Cor. viii. 19, where Paul speaks of one who was "*chosen of the Church*" to travel with "this grace" (another instance of popular management of Church concerns). Here the same word is used as that where it is said that Paul and Barnabas *ordained*: but surely in the present instance Prelatists will not contend that the *Churches* conveyed a *mystical grace*, or performed a *ghostly ceremony* of ordination; they simply *chose* these men. How then can the *same word* mean any more when it is said that Paul and Barnabas *ordained*?

The same word *χειροτονω* is used in the same sense by the Fathers. Ignatius says to the Philadelphians, "It will become you, as the Church of God, *χειροτονησαι*—to choose some deacon to go there," again, "That your Church *appoint*, *χειροτονησαι*—some worthy delegates."*

This throws light upon the nature of the *ordination* performed by Paul and Barnabas. They caused elders to be *appointed*, or, as in the margin of the English translators, "When with lifting up of hands they had chosen them." *Tyndal's* translation reads, "And when they had ordained them seniors by election in every congregation." The ancient French version reads, "And after having by *common suffrages* ordained elders." Beza reads, "And when they had by *suffrages* created elders."

Nothing in the record refers to any ceremony of *consecration*;

* Coleman, p. 58

nothing refers to the modern sense of ministerial *ordination*; though Prelacy is compelled to hang a mountain weight upon the notion that the word *ordained* here, can mean nothing but a mystical ceremony of ordination.

The same remark applies with equal force to the passage in Titus i. 5, "Thou shouldst *ordain* elders in every city." The word translated *ordain* has no imaginable reference to any ceremony or act of *consecration*; in the original it is *καταστήσης*—the most general word possible for *establish* (that thou shouldst *establish* elders in every city), without any possible reference to any particular *mode* of doing it; least of all any *ceremonial consecration*. Doubtless there was a mode, or perhaps several modes; but the Holy Ghost has not seen fit to allude to any in this connection. The presumption is, that whatever else was done, the chief thing consisted, as in the case of Paul and Barnabas, in calling the people to a popular vote.

It is amusing to see the immense weight that Episcopacy tries to hang upon such a peg as the word *ordain*, in our version of the Scriptures. It has not there the modern technical sense, but is the common rendering of several different words, none of them referring to an act of *consecration* like a modern *ordination*. No sooner does Prelacy fix its eyes upon that word, than images of *ghostly virtue*, *ghostly power*, *consecration*, *awful mysteries*, conveyed by an *awful succession*, rise to her view. But on examining the word in Titus i. 5, we find the same as that used (Luke xii. 14) where the Saviour says, "Who *made* me a judge or a divider over you?" Surely here is no reference to a *mystical consecration*. The same is used Rom. v. 19, "By one man's disobedience many were *made* sinners." Surely it was no Apostolic *consecration*, no *mystic* ceremony of *ordination*, to make men sinners! Yet Episcopacy must hold so, or she must drop from this peg on which she has hung so long, and with such a feeling of security.

It is admitted that the power of electing their own officers was gradually, and at length entirely stolen away from the people by a grasping hierarchy, till the last semblance of the popular rights was lost. Yet it was a long time ere they were wholly lost. *Clement* of Rome, A. D. 96, speaks of the appointment of ministers with *the approbation of the whole Church*, as among the regulations of the Apostles.* *Cyprian*, A. D. 258, says, "The people * * ought to separate themselves from a wicked bishop, nor mix themselves with the worship of a sacrilegious priest. For *they principally have the power of electing* worthy ministers and of *rejecting the unworthy*; which thing itself we see descends from divine authority." As late as A. D. 437, *Ambrose* of Milan

* Coleman.

was elected by the people, of their own accord, by acclamation : Martin of Tours, A. D. 375 : Chrysostom at Constantinople, A. D. 398. But there is no need to multiply proofs. Even *Slater* admits (p. 77) and uses the fact in argument, that "all the brethren met together in the Church to choose a Bishop, in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries."

The accurate historian Mosheim thus states the conclusion to which his own mind came after a most thorough investigation. "In these primitive times, * * * *the highest authority was in the people, or the whole body of Christians*; for even the Apostles themselves inculcated by their example, that *nothing of moment was to be done or determined but with the knowledge and consent of the brotherhood.*" * * * "The people did everything that is proper for those in whom the supreme power of the community is vested."*

Neander, the most distinguished ecclesiastical historian of the present day, says, "Each individual Church which had a Bishop or Presbyter of its own, assumed to itself the form and rights of a little distinct republic or commonwealth; and with regard to its internal concerns, was wholly regulated by a code of laws, that, if they did not originate with, had at least received the sanction of the people constituting such Church.†"

I need not pursue this part of the subject further. "Power is always stealing from the many to the few." Favors granted to the ministers of metropolitan and other important towns, were soon demanded as inherent prerogatives. Step by step, corruption and despotism crept stealthily on. Moderators and ministers of large towns grew into Prelates—into archbishops, patriarchs; till the apex was at length crowned by a Pope.

We see what principles are worth. The lessons drawn from the history of our fathers are corroborated by the history of more ancient times: both show the importance of the principles for which our fathers stood.

Once more we are invited to enter the path of Prelacy, and of the incipient corruptions of the Man of Sin. The beggarly elements of ancient despotism and superstition are again stalking forth, and striving, with "high swelling words," with lordly claims, and contemptuous abuse of all who refuse to receive their yoke, to make their way once more to the empire of the world. It is not to be disguised that the battle of the Reformation is once more to be fought with those who once gloried in the style of Protestant, but who are now beginning to be weary of the name.

* In *Punchard*.

† In *Coleman*.

XXIV.

OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

Extraordinary functions. Men called to a special work. Evangelists.

Deacons. Bishops. Presbyters, or Pastors. Singular error of the Prayer-Book. Apostles; their office; requisite endowments.

WE read, Eph. iv. 11, that "Christ gave some, *apostles*; and some, *prophets*; and some, *evangelists*; and some, *pastors* and *teachers*; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

In 1 Cor. xii. 28, that "God hath set some in the Church; first, *apostles*; secondarily, *prophets*; thirdly *teachers*; after that *miracles*; then *gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues*."

Here are men discharging some *eight* sorts of functions; none pretend these are eight orders of permanent officers in the Church. Some of these powers were adapted to the special and miraculous establishment of the Gospel. "*Diversities of tongues*," "*gifts of healings*," "*miracles*;" there were none to discharge these functions after the Apostolic age. These may therefore be dismissed from our present inquiry.

Evangelists, as such, are men specially called to a special work; but nowhere recognized as officers attached to any church. They were men sent to preach where Churches were not formed; or sent to complete the organization and arrangement of Churches where anything was wanting. Thus Philip, originally a deacon, afterwards styled *Philip the Evangelist*, is found in the capacity of Evangelist attached to no Church, but preaching and baptizing in unevangelized places (Acts xxi. 8). Thus *Timothy*, 2 Tim. iv. 5, is exhorted to "*do the work of an evangelist*." His work is on all hands agreed to be the same with that of *Titus*, who was left in Crete, that he might "*set in order the things that were wanting*, and ordain elders in every city:" the churches being not as yet fully organized.

As Timothy was called to do the work of an Evangelist, it is plain that he was not regarded as an Apostle; since Paul makes the two offices distinct: "some *Apostles*, some *prophets*, some

Evangelists." If Timothy had been regarded as an Apostle, it would have been said to him, "Do the work of an Apostle."

The officers recognized by the Epistles as permanently attached to the several Churches, are BISHOPS and DEACONS, the *Bishops* being also styled Elders [Presbyters], and Pastors. Thus, Paul writes "To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, *with the BISHOPS and DEACONS.*" Had there been a third, fourth, or fifth order of officers attached to the Church, he would not have passed them by. So in 1 Tim. iii. he sets down the qualifications requisite for the officers of the several Churches; and specifies only two sorts, *Bishops* and *Deacons*. He makes no allusion to the existence of any other.

In 1 Tim. v. 17, Paul says, "Let the *elders that rule well* be counted worthy of double honor, *especially they who labor in word and doctrine.*" From this many infer that there were elders who rule, but who do not labor in word and doctrine; i. e. RULING ELDERS. In this conclusion the early Churches of New England agreed with the Presbyterians; but they attributed to the ruling elders different functions; such as are not inconsistent with retaining the power of discipline in the body of the Church. In their polity, the ruling elder was a sort of *select-man* to look after the affairs of Church rule and discipline, and to present them in due form for the adjudication of the Church.

In addition to these officers, Episcopacy maintains that their DIOCESAN BISHOPS are official successors of the *Apostles*; and in reality Apostles; only having, for modesty's sake, assumed the name *Bishop*; which was, in the days of the original Apostles, exclusively appropriated to the second order—the elders, presbyters, or pastors. These claims of Diocesan Bishops we entirely deny; maintaining the office of Diocesan Bishops to be an entire corruption and usurpation, and one fraught with immense mischief to the Church of God. The reasons we shall give in the proper place. In the meantime, let us look more particularly at the unquestionably permanent officers of every Church.

1. DEACONS.

These were appointed, Acts vi., for the special purpose of attending to the ordinary secular affairs of the Church; and for the very reason that the Apostles might give themselves "*continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.*" The conclusion is inevitable, that the deacon's work is not to preach. The office is permanent. There are deacons attached permanently to each particular Church; and those Churches have other officers to act as pastors and teachers.

In all these respects, Prelacy, according to her usual custom, sets herself to alter and subvert the arrangements set down in

the Word of God ; she attaches the deacon permanently to no Church ; she makes him a preacher, and sends him wandering abroad.

It is no justification of this course to allege, that Philip preached and baptized ; that was not the work for which he was appointed a deacon ; when he preached and baptized, the sacred record expressly styles him an Evangelist.

2. BISHOPS OR PASTORS.

That these were "Elders who labor in word and doctrine," all agree. Among the requisite qualifications set down for the office are these (1 Tim. iii.): He must be "blameless," "vigilant," "sober," "of good behavior," "given to hospitality," "apt to teach," "one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity. For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?" Moreover he must be one "Holding fast the faithful word, that he may be able by *sound doctrine both to exhort, and to convince gainsayers*" (Tit. i. 9).

The requisite qualifications point out the duties of the Bishop, Pastor, or Elder ; for these terms are indiscriminately applied to the same office and person. As an *office bearer*, he is styled ELDER ; as charged with *rule*, he is called *Bishop* (overseer, superintendent) ; as charged both with oversight and instruction, he is styled *Pastor*. These terms are in the New Testament indiscriminately applied to the same person and office. Thus, 1 Peter i. 1-4, to the Churches "throughout" the several provinces of Asia Minor : "The *elders* which are among you, I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ. *Feed* the flock of God which is among you, *taking the oversight* thereof." The *elders* (presbyters) he exhorts to *feed the flock* (original ποιμαίνειν—to do the work of a *shepherd* or *pastor*) ; *taking the oversight* (ἐπισκοποῦντες—doing the work of *bishop*). The *Elder*, then, is the same as *Pastor*, or *Bishop*, throughout all the Churches of Asia Minor. Dr. Scott makes the following just remark on the passage : "This must be allowed decisive testimony that no express distinction between presbyters and bishop was, at the time the Apostle wrote, established in the Church."

Again (Acts xx.), Paul being at Miletus, sends for the *Elders* (Presbyters) of the Church at Ephesus, and says to them ; "take heed therefore * * unto all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you *overseers*" (ἐπισκοπούς—*Bishops*) ; to *feed* the flock of God (ποιμαίνειν—to do the work of *shepherd*, or *Pastor*). The two Apostles, Peter and Paul, entirely agree in making the Bishop, the Presbyter, the Pastor, ONE AND THE SAME OFFICE, IN ONE AND THE SAME PERSON.

Again Paul (Titus i. 5) says—"and ordain *elders* (Presbyters) in every city." Describing their qualifications, he says, "For a *Bishop* must be blameless;"—the Bishop and the Presbyter are one and the same.

Now that word *Bishop*, so regularly interchanged with the word *Presbyter*, is in no instance interchanged with the word *Apostle* in the New Testament. It was never, in a solitary instance, used by the Apostles or their contemporaries, to dignify a Diocesan Bishop, or an officer, distinct from, and above, a Presbyter. THE BIBLE BISHOP, IS UNIFORMLY THE PASTOR, OR ONE OF THE PASTORS, OF A CONGREGATION; never is the name Bishop given to a Diocesan, or an Apostle, either by the Apostles, or in the Apostolic age. It is absolutely certain, that for a hundred years after Christ, the name Bishop, whether used by Apostles or Fathers, signified the Pastor of a Church; never a person holding a degree above that office.

And yet, I apprehend, that till quite recently, the mass of the common people, who have entertained Episcopal views, have rested upon the *name* Bishop, in the New Testament. Till recently the mass of Episcopalians have not dreamed that their Diocesans were not *Bible Bishops*, but veritable *Apostles*. The views of their learned men were confused and contradictory. The learned *Dr. Hammond* maintained that all who bore the title of Bishops or Presbyters in the New Testament, were Prelates; and that none of the second order were ordained during the Apostolic history. *Dodwell* on the other hand maintained, that Bible Bishops were simple Presbyters; and that no Prelates were ordained till in the second century. *Owen* observed, two centuries ago, that "the most learned advocates of Prelacy *begin* to grant, that in the whole New Testament, Bishops and Presbyters and Elders are every way the same persons in the same office," (vol. xx., p. 394). At the present day, all well-informed Episcopalians fully admit this to be true. Thus Bishop *Onderdonk*, in his work on Episcopacy, says (p. 12), "It is proper to advert to the fact, that the name Bishop, which now designates the highest grade of the ministry, is not appropriated to that office in the Scripture. That name is there given to the middle order, or Presbyters; and all that we read in the New Testament concerning Bishops (including, of course the words "Overseers," and "oversight" which have the same derivation), is to be regarded as pertaining to the middle grade. * * * It was after the Apostolic age that the name Bishop was taken from the second order, and appropriated to the first, * * * and when we find in the New Testament the name Bishop, we must regard it as meaning the Bishop of a parish, or a Presbyter. The Bishop of a diocese, or the highest grade of the ministry, we must seek

there, *not under that name, and* INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY NAME AT ALL." * * "The word *Bishop*,"— "in Scripture, means a PRESBYTER, properly so called."

With this view, Chapman, Chapin, Bowden, and all modern Episcopal writers fully agree.

This, however, is a point in which the framers of the Prayer-Book were unfortunately "overseen." In searching the Scripture for something to read at the ordination of a Diocesan Bishop, they could find nothing to the purpose at all, save one or two passages which use the word *Bishop*; and in which, it is now unfortunately discovered, that the word signifies no diocesan at all, but the simple Bishop or *Pastor* of a single Church; a mere presbyter. But there it stands, as the Epistle to be read at the ordination of a *Diocesan*: "This is a true saying, if a man desireth THE OFFICE OF A BISHOP, he desireth a good work." "A BISHOP then must be blameless." Or as a substitute for this, the passage in Acts xx. is set down, "From Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus, and called the Elders of the Church;" "And said, take heed * * to the flock which the Holy Ghost has made you *overseers*" (original *ἐπισκοποι*—*Bishops*). And our good Diocesans at the ordination of a brother diocesan—in full canonicals and with all gravity, continue to read these passages, as though the word *Bishop* here meant (as they know it does not) a *diocesan* bishop, and not a simple presbyter! Why do they do this? Why do the people suffer it? Are they willing to pass this word *Bishop*, knowing it to be, for their purposes, base coin? or are they to be slaves, in perpetuity, to an old form, which they know is—in relation to the purpose for which they use it—a falsehood? or is it because, forsooth, *some* Scripture must be had, and they may as well use this for want of a better? Surely, surely, if a Diocesan be such an essential cornerstone and pillar to the very existence of a Church, some Scripture *ought* to be found which can, by some decent pretext, be used with some pertinency at his ordination. Surely, surely, if Apostles had successors, it is wonderful that the record should be made so abundantly of inferior officers, but no record of the ordination of a *successor Apostle*! If there is such a record, pray let us have it in the Prayer-Book. If there is none, then tell the people plainly at such an ordination, that a deed is doing, for which you find no warrant or example to read them from the Word of God.

3. APOSTLES.

These needed qualifications possessed by none since their day. They were appointed, in their peculiar office, to a work which was finished when they died. Their number was limited.

Their office was special, peculiar and personal. They could have no successors.

1. *They were personal witnesses of the resurrection of Christ: it was essential that, as such, they should have seen the Lord.*

Christ, speaking of his death and resurrection, said to *the Eleven*, and "Ye are witnesses of these things." When one was to be chosen in place of Judas, to fill up the number twelve, Peter said (Acts i.), "Wherefore of those men who have *compagnied with us* all the time that the Lord Jesus Christ went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day when he was taken from us, *must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection?*" Here was one special qualification and work of the Twelve. Many were personally cognizant of the facts pertaining to our Lord's resurrection; but *out of that number* must one be ordained, to be *with the eleven*, a witness (a special official witness) of these things.

The case of Paul corroborates this view, "The God of our Fathers hath chosen thee that thou shouldest know his will, *and see that Just one*, and shouldst hear the voice of his mouth. For thou shalt be HIS WITNESS unto all men, of what thou HAST SEEN AND HEARD." Accordingly, Paul himself says, "Am I not an *Apostle?* HAVE I NOT SEEN JESUS CHRIST?" Will any modern Diocesan venture to abide a similar test of Apostleship?

2. Apostles, as such, were *endowed with miraculous powers*. This Christ promised them; this they received. If it be said that others besides Apostles wrought miracles, the answer is plain: others *may*: but he who claims to be an Apostle, *MUST*. For Paul says (2 Cor. xii. 12); "Truly the SIGNS OF AN APOSTLE were wrought among you in — *signs and wonders and mighty deeds.*" Those who pretend to hold the Apostolic office at present, should in all fairness be required to show the *signs*; otherwise it may be said concerning them: "And hast tried them that say they are Apostles, and are not; but hast found them liars."

3. The Apostolic office was peculiar, inasmuch as, like the Prophets, they were *inspired teachers of Divine Truth*. The Holy Spirit was promised, to guide them into all truth, and to bring all things to their remembrance. On this ground, their writings are received as records of the Holy Ghost. If others may be inspired, Apostles *must* be; or they are false Apostles. Surely our modern Diocesans cannot claim this prerogative; and if they should, some of their writings constitute "another Gospel," the most trustworthy of their own number being judges.

4. The Apostles were a limited number; the "*Twelve Apostles.*" The case of Paul specially and miraculously called and qualified, "like one born out of due time," is the only exception.

The appointment of Matthias was not to continue the *succession*, but to supply a *substitute* to one of the *Twelve*. Even if they might have successors, those successors should not exceed the number twelve. But, besides filling a vacancy in the original number, there is no record of appointing a single successor. When James was slain (who is claimed as Prelate of the most important See on earth), then we should naturally look for the appointment of a successor, if successor there was to be. But there is none. Even down to the close of Revelation, we find allusions made to *The Twelve*. The Holy Jerusalem (Rev. xxi.) has "*Twelve foundations*; and in them the names of the *TWELVE APOSTLES OF THE LAMB*."

5. *When the twelve were dead, the name, Apostle, was applied to no man on earth.* No man claimed to be an *Apostle*. No man pretended to hold their office for a long time. The name and the office vanished away. Nor has there been a time since, when Prelates would dare to assume the official title, though they claim the office. The common sense of Christendom is against it. *Apostle Brownell*, of Connecticut! *Apostle Doane*, of New Jersey! How it sounds! Who ever heard, in Scriptural times, of Apostles of particular Dioceses? *Whittingham*, *Apostle* of Maryland! *Onderdonk*, *Apostle* of Pennsylvania! *Onderdonk*, *Apostle* of New York! The very style is so revolting and absurd, that to adopt it would be death to the prelatical claims. But if they in reality hold the office, they should, in all conscience assume the name.

APOSTLES NO SUCCESSORS.

Argument from the name. Epaphroditus, Andronicus, Junia. Argument from the powers exercised. Bishop Onderdonk's argument examined. Laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.

DIOCESAN Bishops claim to be *Apostles*; successors of the Twelve in their peculiar office. Bible Bishops they confess they are not; if they are not veritable Apostles they are nothing. We have seen the Apostolic office to be, in its very nature, special and temporary; that though a vacancy was filled to complete the number twelve, yet no record was made of the appointment of any successor; which appointment, in the Episcopal scheme, ought to have been one of the most important things, and to have appeared most fully and minutely on the sacred pages. We have, therefore, a right to demand of any who claim this office, to show that they *have seen the Lord*, that they *are inspired*, and that they can work *miracles*. These are "signs of an Apostle," which no one who claims the office should omit to furnish.

We will, however, attend further to the Episcopal arguments. It is alleged;

1. *That others besides the twelve, and besides Paul, were called Apostles; and that therefore both the office and the name were common; and if so, then the office was communicable and permanent.*

Thus Bishop Onderdonk, in his work, "Episcopacy tested by Scripture," contends that *Sylvanus* and *Timothy* were called Apostles, and that, "Besides *Andronicus* and *Junia*, others could be added to the list." *Epaphroditus* and *Barnabas*, it is contended, are so added.

This is nothing to the purpose, unless it can be shown that they are called Apostles in the *peculiar* and *official* sense. Even Bishop Onderdonk elsewhere argues largely that nothing is to be determined by the *name*; that the officers, of which he is a successor, are to be sought for in the New Testament, "*independently of any name* at all." Here the exigencies of Prelacy demand that something should be made of a mere *name*.

Unfortunately for Prelacy, however, the word APOSTLE in its primary and common meaning, signified *one sent*, a messenger;

and is so used and so translated frequently in the New Testament. Thus, certain brethren of the Church who accompanied Titus when he was sent by Paul to Corinth, are called *αποστολοι εκκλησιων* (literally *Apostles of the Churches*) which our translators have very properly rendered "*messengers of the Churches*," 2 Cor. viii. 23. Were these messengers *official Apostles*? Yet there is precisely the same ground for contending that they were so, as for contending that *Epaphroditus* was an official Apostle. In Phil. ii. 25, Paul says, "I supposed it necessary to send you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labor, and fellow soldier, but *your messenger*" (original, *αποστολον*, the word for Apostle). Bishop Onderdonk would correct our English translation, by making it read, "*your Apostle*." Mr. Chapin, too, argues at length that Epaphroditus must have been the *official Apostle over the Church at Philippi*! No doubt it is very important to the cause of Episcopacy to make him so; but the effort is unavailing, he was a simple *messenger sent out by that Church*, not an Apostle reigning over them. Our translation needs no mending here. An official Apostle of a single Church! The very idea is preposterous. Which one of the twelve Apostles ever held the office of Diocesan? *Dr. Barrow*, one of the ablest divines of any age, has not only largely and conclusively argued that the Apostles had no successors in their office, and could have none, but particularly with regard to this point, has remarked, that to make Epaphroditus Apostle of the Church at Philippi, and Timothy Apostle of the Church at Ephesus, is like "setting the king to be Lord Mayor of London, or the Archbishop of Canterbury to be Vicar of Pancras."

Besides, Paul, writing an official Epistle to the people of another man's Diocese! that man being an Apostle like himself! And Paul, telling that people, that *he* had sent their Apostle! Does he ever do so by Apostle Peter, or Apostle John, or James? Bishop Onderdonk argues that we must look for the office independently of any name, and infer the office from what one *does*. On this ground, what is the office of Paul, while he is sending other Apostles, writing them letters of instruction, and giving them his authoritative charges; as he does with Epaphroditus, Titus and Timothy? Why, on this ground, if Timothy, Titus and Epaphroditus are bishops, Paul at least must be an *Archbishop*, or an *Arch-apostle*, and so, that office is clearly demonstrated on the Episcopal ground, "independently of any name at all."

But it is argued that ANDRONICUS and JUNIA are said to be *Apostles*. They are not even said to be so. The passage referred to in proof, is Rom. xvi. 7, "*Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the*

Apostles" (ἐπισήμοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις), i. e. not *noted Apostles*, as the Episcopal argument makes them; but celebrated *among* them; themselves being no Apostles at all. Dr. Scott takes the common sense view of the passage: "*Well known and esteemed by the Apostles.*"

What is still more to the purpose is, that this "*Apostle Junia*," who is here made to hold half the weight of Episcopacy on her shoulders, was beyond all proper question *a woman*. Our translators accordingly gave the feminine name; whereas, had they supposed Junia a man, they would have made it read not *Junia* but *Junius*. "*Quæ videtur fuisse uxor Andronici*," says Rosenmüller ("*Which [woman] appears to have been the wife of Andronicus*"), "*well known to the Apostles.*"

It so happens that we have proof of this, which Episcopalians must not gainsay. Chrysostom, Theophylact, and several other Fathers take Andronicus for a man, and Junia for a woman, his wife. And both Greeks and Latins actually kept their festival on the 17th of May, as husband and wife.*

One thing further in passing; Bishop Onderdonk feels so much the need of some help to hold up this prop of Episcopacy, that he endeavors to lug in Calvin to his aid. After claiming these to be veritable official Apostles, he adds, "*Calvin allows Andronicus and Junia to be Apostles*;" and quotes chapter and verse, B. iv. C. iii. § 5. If you turn to Calvin in that place, you will see that instead of allowing Andronicus and Junia to be Apostles in the official sense, he affirms the contrary; expressly denying that *Apostles* were instituted to be of perpetual continuance in the Church, but that they were only for that age "when Churches were to be raised up where none had existed before, or were at least to be conducted from Moses to Christ." Then follows the passage from which Bishop Onderdonk quotes a part, and so grossly mistakes its meaning. Calvin's words are these: "So those *twelve* individuals, whom the Lord chose to promulgate the first proclamation of his Gospel to the world, *preceded all others in order and dignity*. For although according to the meaning and etymology of the *word* all ministers of the Church may be called Apostles, because they are all *sent* by the Lord, and are his *messengers*; yet as it was of great importance to have a certain knowledge of the mission of persons, who were to announce a thing new and unheard of before, it was *necessary that those Twelve together with Paul who was afterwards added to their number, should be distinguished beyond all others by a peculiar title*. Paul indeed himself *gives this name to Andronicus and Junia*, who he says are of note among the Apostles; *but when he means to speak with strict propriety, he never applies*

* Dr. Miller on Christian Ministry, p. 110.

this name except to those of first order that we have mentioned. And this is the common usage of the Scripture." Calvin, instead of saying as Bishop Onderdonk represents, says directly the contrary. In his *commentary* on the passage, Calvin says, "It would be absurd to ascribe this great excellence in the proper sense [Apostleship] to these two believers" [Andronicus and Junia].

Barnabas, also, is alleged to have been an official Apostle like one of the Twelve; because it is said in Acts xiv. 14, "which when the Apostles, Barnabas and Paul heard of, &c." There is nothing to show that the word Apostles here is used out of its common meaning—"persons sent," or *Missionaries*. Barnabas is mentioned with such frequency, that had he been numbered as an Apostle, in the official sense, it could hardly have failed that he should somewhere be recognized as such. But there is no remote intimation that he was so considered, unless it be in the use of the word (Apostle) in this case. The common (not the official) sense of that word is equivalent in some cases to *Messenger*; in others to *Missionary*. Now, strictly speaking, by *Missionary*, we mean an *ordained* minister, sent to preach the Gospel among the heathen. Our Missionary boards accordingly mention such and such persons as missionaries, and such and such persons as *physicians or teachers*. But in the narratives of their labors, nothing is more common than to speak of them all together as Missionaries. If a preacher or physician, and a teacher, should sail from Hawaii to Oahu, or take a tour of either island, it would be said of them, The *Missionaries* came to such and such a place; the *missionaries* did so and so. Would it do to hang the mountain weight of a Hierarchy upon the assumption that all of them were ordained preachers, because they are together spoken of as *the missionaries*? Yet such is the precise nature of the Episcopal argument.

The same remarks apply to the case attempted to be made out in 1 Thes. i. 1, compared with ii. 6. "Paul, *Sylvanus*, and *Timotheus*"—* * * * "Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome as the *Apostles of Christ*." Prelacy assumes that *Sylvanus*, as well as *Timotheus*, was a *veritable Apostle*; forgetting that the force of the argument lies wholly in the word, which is commonly used in another sense, and that in the absence of all proof that it is used in the official sense here, the argument is not worth a straw. Yet, straw as it is, Prelacy is glad to lay it in her foundation.

We are now through with the argument from the name; and have seen, I think, to borrow the words of Bishop Onderdonk—that "The name is not worth a line of controversy."

It is argued,

2. THAT CERTAIN PERSONS ARE SHOWN TO BE APOSTLES, INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY NAME, FROM THE POWERS THEY EXERCISED.

What is the proof? Timothy and Titus *ordained*. Timothy and Titus (it is said) *ruled the clergy*. The sum of the argument is contained in these words of Onderdonk's Episcopacy tested by Scripture (p. 26); "Is it not evident, abundantly evident, that Timothy had supreme power over the clergy at Ephesus, and the full right to ordain? * * * Then, as to Titus, examine *his* powers in the island of Crete. * * * To him are specified the due qualifications of a Presbyter, Bishop, or Elder. His clear credential from the Apostle Paul is, "For this cause, I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and [that thou shouldst] ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee." * * * Again, "a man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, [do thou] reject." "Ordination, admonition, and rejection [or degradation and excommunication] are all committed to Titus personally. The elders, as already seen, had no power to reject those who should speak perverse things, or heresy. Titus had that power. All this agrees perfectly with the case of Timothy. And nothing like it can be shown anywhere in Scripture of any who are there called Elders, or Presbyters. Is it not clear, that the recorded powers of Titus make him an officer of a grade superior to that which we must assign, resting only on the Sacred Record, to such elders? THIS IS EPISCOPACY."

I have copied so much from the work of Bishop Onderdonk, because it is the sum of the argument as stated by himself. I say the *sum*. It embodies the POINTS and PRINCIPLES of the whole.

Neither admitting nor denying for the present, the details on which Bishop Onderdonk comes to these conclusions, let us examine these *points* and *principles*. If the details do not make out these, they make out nothing; if they make them out, they cannot go beyond them. Admit therefore, for the present, for the sake of argument, that the details justify these principles; the argument is answered, if the points and principles themselves are shown to be inconclusive, and the inference to be drawn from a total *non-sequitur*.

Admitting, then, the whole that is here alleged, it does not prove Timothy or Titus to be an Apostle.

I might urge here, the facts already considered: that these are not officially styled Apostles; it is not pretended that they have seen Jesus Christ; they are not inspired; they do not show the miraculous signs of an Apostle; they are not like the Twelve, in

any of the peculiar characteristics that designate an Apostle. But let these things pass.

I say then, that *ruling and ordaining are not peculiar to the Apostleship.*

1. *Ruling is not*: for admonition and excommunication, as we have already seen, instead of being committed to Diocesans, as Prelatists falsely claim, are by Christ himself expressly given *to the Church*. Whatever is said of the "rule" of officers, it gives them no lordship over God's heritage: it only shows them to be possessed of *ministerial* power; while the *authority* is in the Church.

But it is said that *Titus and Timothy RULE THE CLERGY; and are therefore of a higher degree; and if of a higher degree THEY MUST BE APOSTLES.*

I answer (1.) Nothing forbids, that what Paul says about "receiving an accusation against an elder"—may be a simple instruction concerning the *matter* of receiving accusations against elders, without intending to *designate the tribunal* which is to try or depose them. The same remark applies to the words, "Them that sin, rebuke before all:"—though it is a mere conjecture that this is spoken exclusively of sinning elders.

(2.) *It is assumed* that receiving and trying charges against an elder, necessarily implies a superiority of rank; and that an elder cannot be tried and deposed without a rank above him to do it. False and ridiculous assumption: for among Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Reformed-Dutch and others, the trial of a minister is as easy, as regular, as efficient as it is among Prelatists or Papists; and yet there is no superior rank to do it.

And who receive charges and try them among Prelates themselves? Does it require one of a superior rank to try and depose a Diocesan Bishop? Then must your Bishops be entirely irresponsible, or else you must have an Archbishop, who can be nothing less to you than an irresponsible Pope, having no rank above him, that can receive charges against him and bring him to trial. So either show us your Pope, or admit that Parity is as good as Prelacy for receiving and trying charges against Elders; and that on this ground, neither Timothy nor Titus could be either Apostle or Prelate at all.

The principle that an officer cannot be tried and punished without a superior rank above him, draws as deep in civil government as in ecclesiastical; in the latter case, it ends in an irresponsible Pope, in the former it ends in a *jure divino* monarchy, as the everlasting destiny of all civil government. The whole argument for Prelacy here, hangs upon a false assumption.

To this *assumption* is tacked a *Therefore*: *THEREFORE Timothy and Titus were of a rank superior to Presbyters.* To this

"therefore" is fastened a conclusion that does not follow. IF of a superior rank—THEREFORE an Apostle! A string of therefore is hung upon a false assumption, and from the last point, the Bishop leaps to a conclusion that does not hang upon the chain at all. The argument would not lose one whit of its logical accuracy—had the last link in the chain read thus: *Therefore*, Timothy was Pope of Rome, and Titus Autocrat of all the Russias. And yet, if this logic be not correct—(it is one of the main pillars of the building)—the mighty fabric of Episcopacy must tumble to the ground.

The instructions given to Timothy and Titus concerning the matter of *Ruling*, therefore, do not prove them Apostles; and

2. *The instructions given them concerning ORINATION do not prove them Apostles.*

(1.) Where it is said to TITUS (i. 5), "and ORDAIN elders in every city," the word in the original (*καταστήσεις*) has no possible reference to any ceremony or mode of ordination, but is the most general of all possible terms for "*establish*." In the case of Barnabas and Paul, we have already seen (Acts xiv 23), the ordination spoken of was a simple election (*χειροτονήσαντες*) i. e., probably, as in the choice of Matthias, *they called the people to choose elders*. A ceremony of induction there probably was, but the Holy Ghost appears to think that of too little consequence to put on the record, as it is not noted here at all. I have already remarked that the word "*ordain*" in this direction to Titus, is the same as that used in the passage "by one man's disobedience many WERE MADE sinners" (Rom. v. 19). There is no more reference to a *mystic ceremony of ordination* in the case of Titus, than there is of a mystic ordination to make men sinners.

(2.) The words used to denote the *ordination* spoken of in the New Testament, as if on purpose to pour contempt upon the Prelatic notion of conferring grace or office by the mystic virtue of ordination, are of the most changeable, various, and vague character possible. Thus, where it is said in the case of Matthias, "must one *be ordained*," the word is *γενεσθαι*, "must one be, or become a witness." Where it is said that Christ is "*ordained*" to be judge of quick and dead (Acts x. 42), the word is *ὁρισμενος*, *fixed upon, selected, appointed*. In Rom. xiii. 1, it is said that "The powers that be, are *ordained* of God," *τεταγμεναι, ordered, appointed*.

(3.) The civil power is as much ORDAINED of God as the clergy; but does it require a superior rank to ordain [instal in office] a civil magistrate? That is the dream of Legitimists, who hold to the divine right and order of kings; just as it is of Prelatists who hold to the succession of the order of bishops. The Legitimists would not be able to see how the *people* could ever confer an

office which they have not; all power must flow down from the *jure divino* monarch, else it could not be a power "ORDAINED OF GOD." But whatever Legitimists may think, *we* doubt not that the Governor of Connecticut, or the President of the United States, is as much a "*Power ordained of God*," as any other earthly potentate that ever existed. And the Governor or President must be *ordained* before his acts are legal. But does it require a *superior officer* to induct the Governor or the President? Why, a simple justice of the peace may ordain the one or the other; and that without any claim to an office superior to that of either.

(4.) *The performance of any ceremony of ordination, is no mark or peculiarity of Apostleship.* In all the instructions of our Lord to the Apostles, and in all the commissions he gave them he said not one word to them about *ordaining*. He spoke of *preaching, teaching, and baptizing*, but not of ordaining. Had this been their great and peculiar work, it could not have been so passed by. With Episcopalians, ordination is something mystic and awful. *Virtue* flows from the ordainer's hands. Ordination is everything. If the ceremony be not performed by the hands of one who has received the *virtue*, or virus, by a good conducting medium, or succession, everything is lost,—nothing is valid; all who come after that interrupted link, and all who depend upon them, are out of the Church and destitute of all claim to covenant mercies. Nothing can exceed the care, minuteness, and circumstantial pomp with which they make their records of the ordination of Bishops. But go to the New Testament, and you find nothing of the kind. *The ORDINATION of a successor of the Apostles!* The New Testament is silent about it. Christ said not one word about this (on the Episcopal scheme) greatest, most stupendous transaction—the ordaining of an Apostle.

(5.) But it may be said that though the word "ordain," in the New Testament, has no reference to any particular ceremony like a modern ordination, yet there are passages, which show that the induction to office was by the *laying on of hands*.

Grant it. By *whose* hands? Does the New Testament say that it *must be* by the hands of an *Apostle*; so that whoever may be supposed to perform the ceremony of ordination, he *must be* supposed to be an Apostle? Nothing like it. The only passage that bears this reference, and that attributes the act of ordaining to an office, attributes it not to the *Apostleship*, but to the *Eldership*. Thus, 1 Tim. iv. 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given then by prophecy, with the *laying on of THE HANDS OF THE PRESBYTERY*." The hands of a "PRESBYTERY" (or collection of elders), *therefore, may*

ordain;" and that ordination is Scriptural. Admitting, therefore, that so Titus and Timothy ordained; they ordained by the laying on of hands of THE PRESBYTERY, not by virtue of Apostleship. The ordaining, therefore, cannot prove them Apostles.

The shifts and windings to which Prelatists are driven on this point, furnish some amusing specimens of the art of shifting off the force of arguments, that cannot be met in direct encounter. You have heard of the ancient *Retiarius*, or gladiator of the net; whose weapon was an instrument to entangle his adversary, not to meet him in fair and sturdy combat. Bishop Onderdonk, on this all essential point of the argument, very strikingly resembles the ancient gladiator of the net. With regard to this ordination of Timothy by the hands of the Presbytery, he first intimates, that it is no ordination at all; but the casual designation of a person already in orders to a special work. This ground he first "submits to the candid judgment of his readers;" and yet shows in the issue that he himself neither rests upon it nor believes it. Next, to "meet his non-Episcopal brethren on their own ground," he is willing, for argument sake, to admit it to be an ordination; but denies that there was a laying on of the hands of any Presbytery; the word *Presbytery* meaning *Presbyterate*, the *office* to which he was ordained, not a *body of Elders*. Here he quotes Calvin again, to sustain a position which both himself and Calvin finally renounce. Next he argues that if it be an *ordination*, and by *Presbyters*, then the *sort* of Elders (or Presbyters) is not designated. (We should have thought, in such a case, that it was no matter what sort, provided they were *Elders*, or Presbyters.) He insists that it *might* have been a *Presbytery of Apostles*; or at least that an Apostle *might* have been present, from whose hands the virtue of the ordination *might* have proceeded. At last he comes upon the ground where Episcopalians commonly rest; that it *was* an ordination; that the *Presbytery* was composed of real Presbyters; and that it is so recognized by Paul; "who," he says, "makes the following distinction in regard to his own agency and that of others in this supposed ordination; by the putting on of *my* hands, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery." Such a distinction, he says (p. 22), "may be justly regarded as intimating that the *virtue* of the ordaining act flowed from Paul, while the Presbytery, or the rest of the body, if he was included in it, expressed only *consent*."

If we follow the steps of Bishop Onderdonk, through the several positions which he assumes, we must come to the following conclusions with regard to this ordination of Timothy. It *was* an ordination, and it was *not* an ordination; there was a laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, and there *was not* a laying on

of the hands of the Presbytery; Presbytery means *Presbyterate* and *no body of men*, and again it means *a body of men* and *no Presbyterate*; the body was made up of Apostles, and it was not made up of Apostles, but of Presbyters; the ordination was by the hands of the Presbytery, because perhaps an Apostle or Apostles might have been among them; and again it was not by the hands of the Presbytery, the *virtue* flowed from Paul, while the Presbytery only gave consent. Truly, Bishop Onderdonk must get out of his own net as he can. No man of his unquestionable capacity, in such a studied and deliberate treatise, would have taken so many inconsistent positions, had he seen any firm and impregnable ground.

The "BY" and "WITH," two little particles which constitute the final ground for Prelacy to rest on here, are in two separate Epistles, 1 Tim. iv. 14, *μετα επιθησεως των χειρων*—(with the laying on of hands); and 2 Tim. i. 6, "That thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee by (*δια*) the putting on of my hands." Chapin puts the two passages together, and makes them read thus: "*By* the putting on of my hands, *with* the hands of the Presbytery. Nothing can be plainer than this," he says, "The ordination was *by* the Apostle, *with* the concurrence of the Presbytery." On this I remark:

(1.) It admits the act to be an ordination, and the body to be composed of simple Presbyters; since they only *concur*.

(2.) It assumes that the two passages refer to the same act; whereas the gift of God by the putting on of Paul's hands might have been no appointment to office, but gifts of miraculous power; which Paul, again and again, was the instrument of conferring on others by the laying on of his hands.

(3.) Even admitting the two records to refer to the same act; Paul, in the first, deems it a sufficient account to speak of the laying on of the hands of Presbytery. Presbyters, therefore, are all that is needed. But:

(4.) The criticism about *meta* and *dia* (*μετα* and *δια*) is both erroneous and contemptible; too weak a peg to hang a rush upon, and yet here it must bear the mountain weight of Episcopacy, or Episcopacy must tumble to the ground. Dr. J. M. Mason so thoroughly exploded this criticism, that it was forty years ere Episcopacy ventured to revive it again. "Be it so," says Mason, "be it so, that *meta* and *dia* are contrasted; the first simply denoting *concurrence*, and the last the *efficient cause*. Be it so. I open my New Testament and read that "Many signs and wonders were done *by* (*dia*) the Apostles. Proceeding in the narrative, I read that Paul and Barnabas rehearsed all things which God had done (*meta*) WITH them, i. e., in the case of miracles wrought by Peter and James, Peter and James

were the *efficient* cause, or the *conductors* of the Divine power: but in the case of miracles wrought by Barnabas and Paul, they only acted in *concurrence*; *meta* and *dia* being words used in contrast, to show that the first had power and authority to work miracles, the last only power to act in concurrence!"

I do not see but that the Prelatical argument, from the *powers* exercised, dies, though in the last ditch. It has veered and shifted, and finally betaken itself for shelter in the last resort to simple *meta* and *dia*, which turn out to be no shelter at all; but after every evasion and shift, the brethren of the Church *ruled*, and Presbyters *ordained*: nor is the receiving of a complaint against an elder, nor the act of ordaining, any mark of Apostleship at all.

XXVI.

DIOCESAN BISHOPS.

Timothy not Diocesan of Ephesus. The Angels of the Churches were no Diocesan Bishops. No change of official designation from Apostle to Bishop.

It is contended, that Timothy was *Diocesan Bishop*, that is, *Apostle*, of Ephesus. But the New Testament shows that Timothy was notoriously an itinerant, going from field to field, and not a stationary officer of any special district. To this, our Episcopal brethren reply that Timothy was a *Missionary Bishop*, at least so long as his journeyings continued. A Missionary Bishop! A *Missionary Apostle*! Does the New Testament recognize such a thing as a *stationary* Apostle—the Apostle of a single Church or Diocese?

Paul says to Timothy, “I besought thee to *abide* still at Ephesus.” The inference is inevitable: he was not by his peculiar office permanently stationed there. *Dailly* has well remarked; “To beseech a man to abide in a place where his charge assigns him to be, and which he cannot forsake without offending God, and neglecting his duty, is, to say the truth, not a very civil entreaty; as it plainly supposes that he has not his duty much at heart.”

There is, however, very plain proof from Scripture, that Timothy *was not Bishop of Ephesus at all*. If he ever was so, it must have been when the first Epistle of Paul was written to him: for the sole argument that he was so, is built upon the assumption that this Epistle was written to him in capacity of Bishop [Apostle] of Ephesus.

But some time *after* that Epistle was written, Paul (a little before his being sent prisoner to Rome) returns through Macedonia to Asia, “bound in the Spirit unto Jerusalem” (Acts xx.). In the 4th verse, it is specially recorded that *Timothy was with him*. Coming to Miletus (v. 17), Paul sends to Ephesus for the elders of the Church, and when they are come, he gives them the solemn charge recorded in Acts xx. 18–35. In Timothy’s presence, *Paul* sends for these elders: *Paul* charges them. He says not a word about Timothy, or any other Diocesan. This is alter-

gether unaccountable on the notion that Timothy is their Bishop [Apostle]. Why does not Timothy send? Why does not Timothy charge these elders? He is their *Apostle*! the equal of Paul. Why does not *he* greet his own Presbyters, from whom he has been so long absent? Why does *Paul* interfere in his brother Apostle's special Diocese?

It is so plain that Timothy is not, at this time, their Diocesan Bishop, that even Bishop Onderdonk concedes it; "Ephesus," says he (p. 25), "was without a Bishop when Paul addressed the elders; Timothy not having been placed over that Church, till some time afterwards." But if Timothy was not at this time their Diocesan, he never was. If you turn to 1 Tim. i. 3., you will see that Paul left Timothy at Ephesus, when he himself went into Macedonia; and in chap. iii. 14, we learn that Paul *expected to return*. "These things I write, hoping to come unto thee shortly: But if I tarry long, &c." And chap. iv. 13, "Till I come, give attendance to reading, &c." The evidence is conclusive that the Epistle was written when Paul expected to return to Ephesus. But how was it, when, being at Miletus (Acts xx.), he sends for the Ephesian Elders and gives them their charge? It is his *final* charge. "And now behold I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more" (Acts xx. 17). "And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake that they should see his face no more." And they did see him no more. He went to Jerusalem; was apprehended; sent as a prisoner to Rome, and died a martyr.

This renders it certain, that his interview with the Ephesian Elders recorded in Acts xx. was *after* the Epistle to Timothy was written. But it is both proved and conceded, that at the time of that interview with the Ephesian Elders, Timothy was not Bishop of Ephesus. The conclusion is inevitable: *Timothy never was Bishop of Ephesus*: and nothing in the Epistle to Timothy can bear the slightest possible allusion to the work of a Diocesan Bishop. This main prop and pillar of Episcopacy must needs tumble to the ground.*

The search after Diocesan Bishops in Apostolic times, now

* "Theodoret and Athanasius among the Fathers affirm this early date of the First Epistle to Timothy. Baronius, Ludovic, Capellus, Blondel, Hammond, Grotius, Lightfoot, Benson, Doddridge, and Michaelis affirm it. Townsend says, "I can admit no theoretical argument to overthrow what seems to me the unforced deduction from Scripture, that the Epistle was written after St. Paul went from Ephesus, and left Timothy there when he went into Macedonia."

"Episcopalians have been challenged to produce a single passage from the writings of the Fathers for the first three centuries, in which Timothy or Titus are recognized as Bishops in the prelatical sense; and the challenge remains unanswered to this day." "Chrysostom acknowledges them to be Evangelists." (Puseyite Episcopacy, by J. Brown, D.D.)

comes to a narrow corner of the field. Bishop Onderdonk, the modern Goliath of Episcopacy, first bids us look for veritable Apostles, other than the Twelve, bearing the Apostolic *name*; Apostle Andronicus, Apostle Junia, Apostle Epaphroditus; we have looked, and find no Apostles there. He next bids us look for Apostles *without* the name, and independently of any name at all; we have looked, and they are not there. Where now shall we look for men bearing the Apostolic office after the death of the Twelve?

Shall we look for them under the name of *Bishops*? No: it is conceded that they are not yet to be found under that name. Every Church, in city and in country, has its *Bishop*, who is everywhere known by that name; but he is admitted to be a simple pastor, and no successor of the Apostles in their peculiar office.

Shall we look for them under the name of *Apostles*? There is no man, bearing that name, anywhere on the face of the earth.

Where then, in the name of wonder, are they? It is passing strange that this office, on which the very existence of the Church depends, should be known by no distinctive name! Why, every poor pastor, every deacon and deaconess, bears a well known official title. Is there none for that first order in the Church? Do they move about, in every province and city, bearing the burden and rule of all the Churches, and while Deacons and Bishops are every day referred to by name, is there no trace extant, upon the whole earth, of any reference to this high order of functionaries?

O certainly, replies Bishop Onderdonk; you will find them under the name of ANGELS OF THE CHURCHES. Hear him (p. 262): "The dignitaries in question were addressed when it was somewhat too late to call them Apostles, and too soon to call them Bishops, particularly as the latter word had a different meaning in the Scriptures already written. Another designation therefore is given them; they are called angels; and the kind of office is left to be *inferred* from the powers and distinctions given them." "The name Bishop was *in transitu from the second order to the first*."

To this I reply (1.) That there is no proof that the name Bishop was undergoing a change. The allegation that it was so, is entirely gratuitous and untrue. About A.D. 100 Clemens Romanus uses the word Bishop as it is used in the New Testament; to signify the simple Pastor of a congregation. This is admitted by Slater (p. 18), who maintains that a different use of the word Bishop was *first* made by Ignatius in the second century. We do not admit that it was made even then; but the proof is complete, that the name Bishop was not now in a pro-

cess of change, from pastors to those who were formerly called Apostles. For the first century of the Christian era, there is no evidence that the name, Bishop, meant anything else than it did in the days of the Apostles; and four hundred years passed away before any one ventured to assert that those were called Bishops who were once called Apostles.

(2) The supposition is absurd. In the process of a gradual change of name, there will be, for a time, an intermingling of the old name with the new; but never in such a gradual change was it heard, that for a while it is too *early* to use the new name and too *late* to use the old; and that, therefore, a *third* name, distinct from either, is introduced to soften down the process of the change.

But the case is still worse in the case supposed by Bishop Onderdonk. *He* will have it that the Christian world is studded all over with real *Apostles*, bearing that name. There is Apostle Timothy, Apostle Epaphroditus, Apostle Andronicus, Apostle Junia, and Apostle who not, besides. While this is so, every congregation in every city, village and hamlet, has its *pastor*, who, the world over, is styled a *Bishop*. Presently, and ere the volume of revelation closes, the Apostles are all gone; all, save the last of the Twelve in Patmos. No man anywhere bears the name Apostle. It is "*too late*" to call any man an Apostle; but unfortunately for the argument of Bishop Onderdonk, the world is full of *Bishops*, who are all simple *Pastors*; and it is *too early* to call an Apostle by the name of Bishop.

Now how is this double change effected? How is it that the Apostles everywhere give up their own name, and everywhere filch away the names of the Bishops, and yet no trace or fragment of this double change can be found, in the history of the whole world for four hundred years? If the process of change is so universally going on, it must somewhere appear. But it does not. Writings are abundant: a trace of almost everything else appears in them: but no trace or fragment of such a change can anywhere be found. The very life of Episcopacy hangs upon the certainty of such a change; but it brings no proof; it is obliged to rest upon a baseless, unreasonable, impossible assumption.

(3.) It is alleged that during this process of change, Apostles are designated neither as Apostles nor as Bishops, but under the style of "*Angels of the Churches*." If this were so, then "*Angels of the Churches*" would be very common affairs: we should find mention made of them at every turn. But the word Angel is in no other instance used in this sense in any writing sacred or profane. Episcopacy is driven here to find an *Apostle* in the *angel of the Church*. If an Apostle is not here he is confessedly

nowhere. He is nowhere called Apostle; he is nowhere called Bishop. It is too late for the one, and too early for the other. Episcopacy, therefore, as a last resort, fastens upon the *angels of the Church*. She *guesses* that they are Diocesan Bishops,—for if not there, where can they be? She *guesses*, that each one of these seven Churches must be a Diocese of several congregations; and that the *angel* presided over the *clergy* of the several congregations! It is all guess-work, without a particle of proof; but with the acknowledged fact that “angel of the Church” nowhere else means a bishop, in all the writings of man! Other people *guess* that these angels were Presbyters; others again guess that they figuratively represent the whole body of the church; since the Spirit says to one of these angels, “Behold, the devil shall cast *some of you* into prison.” Light-foot guesses that the angel of the Church was something answering to the *Chazan* of the Jewish Synagogue, who took care of the reading of the law, and who sometimes preached; but who was far enough from being the type of a Diocesan Bishop. If I might be allowed to add *my* guess, I should guess that the angel of the Church is no officer at all; but that the use of the word is figurative;—one of the images in that highly figurative book. We have an angel in the sun; an angel standing on the sea and on the earth; angels coming down with chains. I should *guess*, that the addresses to angels of the Churches are only figurative modes of addressing the Churches themselves. Indeed, after these messages to the angels, it is added, “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith *unto* THE CHURCHES.” And in making this guess, I do it in very good company, for Stillingfleet says (*Irenicum*, p. 315), “Why may not the word *Angel* be taken only by way of representation of the body itself? either of the whole Church, or, which is far more probable, of the *consensus* or order of Presbyters in that Church? We see what miserably unconcluding arguments those are, which are brought for any form of government from metaphorical or ambiguous expressions, or names promiscuously used, which may be interpreted in different senses? What certainty, then, can any rational man find, what the form of government was in the primitive times, when only those arguments are used which may be interpreted in different senses. And without such *certainty*, with what confidence can men speak of a *divine right* to any one particular form?”

Here Episcopacy again hangs her whole weight upon what Stillingfleet well calls, “a miserably unconcluding argument.” She has conceded that if her Diocesan Bishops are not, at this time, found under the name of angels of the Churches, they are not to be found under any name upon the face of the earth. It

is too late to call them Apostles; it is too early to call them Bishops. It is not pretended that they are at this period called anything if not angels. It is certain that they are not so called anywhere save in this passage of the book of Revelation; and it is a baseless, unreasonable conjecture to suppose that they are so called here.

After this book of Revelation, it is certain that these high functionaries, the successors in the office of the Apostles, are not called angels of the Churches. Nor are they called Apostles. For a hundred years, the pastors of Churches everywhere monopolize the name of Bishops. Where, in the name of wonder, are these Diocesan successors of the Apostles? There is no trace of them after the "angels," till more than a century afterwards they come out Bishops! A double change of title occurs, in two orders of Church officers; a change involving some confusion and mingling of terms; it occurs in thousands of instances, in many languages, all over the world, and no trace, no fragment indicative of that change remains! A body of men nowhere alluded to by any distinct name, move noiselessly about, bearing on their shoulders the supreme authority of the Churches; till at last they have everywhere filched away the names of the second order in the ministry, and no trace or fragment of this double change remains.

But it is said that there is *testimony* to the *fact* of such a change, though the process of the change cannot be traced. "It was *after* the Apostolical age," says Bishop Onderdonk, "that the name Bishop was taken from the second order and appropriated to the first, as we learn from *Theodoret*."

Well, who is Theodoret? A man who lived in the *fifth century*! No hint or trace of such an opinion ever has been cited before him. On what authority does Theodoret say this? Does he allude to any record, any memorial, or even any tradition? None at all. It stands on his conjecture, bare and unsupported; an unreasonable and absurd conjecture, about a thing concerning which all proof is wanting, and that, too, when proof could not be wanting, were the thing itself true. Episcopacy thus hangs her monstrous claims upon a conjecture unsupported, unreasonable and absurd; and this conjecture of Theodoret concerning a matter of which he knows nothing, Episcopacy calls his *testimony*! TESTIMONY! about a thing which he neither saw nor read of; and which if it had ever taken place, must have taken place two or three centuries before he was born! If it did not take place four centuries before he was born, Episcopacy is a demonstrable perversion of the institutions of Christ and his Apostles.

Prelacy must needs take the laboring oar here. Let her tell

when or how this double change occurred. Let her explain how it could possibly occur, and no trace or fragment remain to indicate the process. Let her tell by what *name* these successors in the Apostolic office were known ; or where they lurked, when for one hundred years they were neither Apostles, nor Angels, nor Bishops ; and how it was possible that this nameless body of Prelates could so entirely escape the observation or notice of all writers for so long a time. Let Prelacy explain these matters to us ; or let her frankly admit that the pretended change never occurred, but that ambitious parish Bishops, in favorable situations, gradually assumed more and more, till they became Prelates ; metropolitans grew up by degrees into Archbishops and Patriarchs ; till at last, this gradual stealing of power from the many to the few, brought forth the Pope ; while Pope, Patriarch, Archbishop, and Diocesan, are alike unknown and unauthorized in the Word of God.

XXVII.

PRELACY DISPROVED BY THE FATHERS.

WE have now searched clear down through the Scriptures, and find not a trace or fragment of Episcopacy. The supposition, to which the advocates of the scheme are obliged to resort in order to maintain that it had any existence in the first age after the Apostles, we have seen to be absurd and impossible. Beyond this point, we are bound to receive nothing. We are not bound to inquire any further: we are already beyond the Apostles and Apostolic times. In all propriety, the argument should end here.

But we will not end here: we are willing to follow the pretensions of Prelacy to her haunts and strongholds, in the deep tangled wild-wood of the Fathers, and to see what sort of resting-place she possesses even there.

And *first*, as to the nature of the authority to be allowed to the Fathers. We are willing to admit them as witnesses to matters of fact *existing in their own day*, and coming under their *own observation*, so far as any testimony can be ascertained to be really theirs, and not a forgery or an interpolation. *Secondly*, when they *conjecture* merely, as Theodoret does, without referring to any record or even to any tradition, we are willing to weigh even their conjectures; especially when they give reasons for the same. But *thirdly*, as *authoritative interpreters* of Scripture, we know them not. It is said indeed, that we must receive their opinions and interpretations, or reject the Bible; but we beg leave to dissent from this;—a man may be a good witness of the authenticity of a document, when he would make a most miserable interpreter of its meaning. And it may be affirmed, without any danger of contradiction, that nowhere, among Shakers, Swedenborgians, or Mormons, can there be found interpretations more crude, or monstrous, than are everywhere rife in the writings of the boasted Fathers.

And now, let the Fathers advance and give their testimony: The first who comes upon the stand is *Clemens Romanus*.

He is supposed to be the Clement mentioned by Paul. He wrote an Epistle to the Corinthians about A. D. 96. It is the earliest and most authentic of all the writings of the Fathers. His object in writing, was to conciliate the minds of the Corinthians to their *Pastors*, some of whom they had rejected from the ministry. Throughout his epistle, he calls these ministers *Presbyters*, and speaks of the people having expelled them *απο της επισκοπης* from the *Episcopate* (the office of *Bishop*). He uses the words *Pastors* and *Bishops* repeatedly and throughout, as synonymous. This, *Slater* admits; and the learned Dr. Campbell says, "No critic ever questioned" it.

But let Clemens speak for himself. "The Church of God which sojourneth at Rome to the Church of God which is at Corinth." (Why, this seems not a lordly Diocesan writing to a Diocese, but very much like the minister of a congregation writing in the name of the people to a sister Church.) But read on. "The Apostles have preached to us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ, therefore, was sent by God, the Apostles by Christ; so both were orderly sent according to the will of God. For, having received command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and convinced by the Word of God, with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad publishing that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits of their conversions, to be *Bishops* and *Deacons* over such as should afterward believe, having first proved them by the Spirit; for thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, I will appoint their *overseers* [*Bishops*] in righteousness, and their *Deacons* in faith."

Here we have everywhere, in cities and country places, *Bishops* and *Deacons*, in each place or congregation; and with Clemens as with Paul, a *Bishop* is the simple *Pastor* of a Church.

Clemens goes on to show how Moses, to prevent all dispute about the priesthood, referred the matter to God; when Aaron's rod alone blossomed. "So likewise, our Apostles knew that there should contentions arise upon the name of the *Bishopric*, and therefore, having a perfect knowledge of this, they appointed persons as we have before said, and gave directions, how, when they should die, other and approved men should succeed in their ministry; who were either appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church. For it would be no small sin in us should we cast off these from their *Episcopate* [*Bishopric*], who nobly and without blame fulfil the duties of it. Blessed are those *Presbyters*, who having finished their course before these times, obtained a perfect and fruitful dissolution. For they have no fear lest any one

should turn them out of the place which is now appointed for them." * * * * "It is a shame, my beloved, yea, a great shame, and unworthy your Christian profession, to hear, that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians, should by one or two persons be led into a sedition *against its Presbyters*. * * * Do ye, therefore, who first laid the foundations of this sedition, submit yourselves to your *Presbyters*," * * * * "only let the flock of Christ be in peace with the *Presbyters* that are set over it."

In this discourse, speaking expressly about the ministry, its appointment and succession, Clemens recognizes *only two orders, Bishops and Deacons*; and he uses the words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* as synonymous, meaning the same identical office, as belonging to the same identical men (just as we have seen the words to be uniformly used in the New Testament).

It is therefore certain, that both at *Rome* and at *Corinth*, the name *Bishop* has yet undergone no change from its original signification. The *Bishop* is still the simple pastor of a Church; *Presbyter* being used as the title of *honor* [Elder], and *Bishop* [overseer] being the name of *office*.

If there had been a Diocesan over these "Presbyters," whom the Corinthians were rejecting from "the Episcopate," how strange that Clemens did not mention him; how impertinent in that case, for Clemens to write at all! How passing strange that Clemens should say so much about these Presbyters coming in succession from the Apostles, and forget to say one word about their Diocesan, if they had one!

Will it be said that their Diocesan is dead; and that Clemens is writing as their provisional Diocesan? But he writes not as Diocesan, or in his own name at all; it is the *Church* of Rome writing to the *Church* of Corinth!

Ask Clemens, while he is on the stand, whether he ever knew the title *Bishop* to signify an office superior to that of *Presbyter*, i. e., one holding the official rank of Apostle. He is silent as the grave; he knows nothing about it. Ask him, if he knows of any such things as *Angels of Churches*, so called, who in his day were in reality Apostles. He knows nothing about it. Ask him if such an order of men exists, with or without a name, whom it is too late to call Apostles, and too early to call Bishops; he knows nothing about it, save that "everywhere," in cities and in country places, at "Rome and in Corinth," a Bishop is, like the New Testament Bishop, the Pastor, or *Presbyter* (Elder) of a Church, i. e., of a congregation of Christians.

But Prelatists, nevertheless, claim Clemens as proving for them *three orders* instead of *two*. Let us notice this claim. It will serve as a fair specimen of the way in which Prelatical writers

delude each other, and mislead their people by mistaken interpretations of the Fathers. *Perceval*, in his famous book on Apostolic succession (p. 54), cites this epistle of Clemens thus : "It will behoove us, looking into the depths of divine knowledge, to do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do. He has *ordained* by his supreme will and authority, both *when* and by *what persons*, they [the sacred services and oblations] are performed. For the *chief priest* has the proper services, and to the *Priests* their proper place is appointed, and to the *Levites* appertain their proper ministries ; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is appointed to laymen."

Perceval cites this with the express design of making those who read him, believe that Clemens applies the term Chief Priest, Priests, and Levites, to three orders in the Christian ministry ; and here he leaves it. He passes entirely by the plain testimony of Clemens concerning the identity of Presbyters and Bishops ; but he adduces *this* passage as *proof positive* of three orders, and especially of the Diocesan Bishop. Sure enough, people who read *Perceval*, and who are not aware of his barefaced trickery in this quotation, will naturally conclude that Clemens acknowledges three orders in the Christian ministry.

But Clemens is not speaking here of the Christian ministry as existing in three orders : he is drawing an argument for *orderly proceeding* among Christians, from the consideration of the *regard to order* observed in the *Jewish sacrifices and priesthood* : and immediately after the sentence quoted by *Perceval*, he makes the application : "Let every one of *you*, therefore, bless God in *his proper station*, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of *his* sacrifice, which is appointed to *him*. The *daily sacrifices* are not offered everywhere, nor the *peace-offerings*, nor the *sacrifices appointed for sins*, but *only at Jerusalem*."

Why did not the Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Perceval*, Chaplain to the Queen, tell his readers, like an honest man, that he had suppressed the true testimony of Clemens, and made a gross perversion of his words, in the quotation which he gave ?—that he was, in this instance, dealing wholly in false pretences ; and that if they understood the words, Chief Priest, Priest and Levite, in this passage, to refer to three orders in the Christian ministry, they must also conclude that Christian ministers offered *daily sacrifices, peace-offerings, and sin-offerings*, and that *only at Jerusalem* ? And if *Perceval* was not honest enough to tell the truth in this matter, why does the American *Protestant Episcopal Tract Society* still persist in scattering that Tract, on the wings of the wind, without one word of correction, and that, so long

after this piece of arrant fraud has been so clearly and unanswerably pointed out by *Powell* in his work on Apostolical succession?*

The words of *Stillingfleet* on the testimony of Clemens Romanus, are worthy to be repeated; "They that can find any one single Bishop" [Diocesan] at Corinth, at the time when Clemens wrote his epistle to them * * "must have better eyes and judgment than the deservedly admired *Grotius*, and he was a great friend of Episcopacy, who brings this in his epistle to Bignonius, as an argument of the undoubted antiquity of that epistle, that Clement nowhere mentions the singular authority of Bishops, which by Church customs, after the death of Mark, at Alexandria, began to be introduced: but Clement clearly shows, as did the Apostle Paul, that then by the Common Council of the Presbyters (who both by Paul and Clement are called Bishops) the Churches were governed."

Milner, though an Episcopalian, also admits the force of this absolute proof of Clemens. "At first indeed," says he, "and for some time, Church governors were only of two ranks, Presbyters and Deacons. The Church of Corinth continued long in this state, as far as one may learn from Clement's epistle." "And *Faber* says, here we may observe, no more than two orders are specified; the word Bishops being plainly used as equipollent to the word Presbyters: and all possibility of misapprehension is avoided by the circumstance of Clement's affirmation that the appointment of these two orders was foretold in prophecy. *

* * Had the Church, in Clement's time, universally acknowledged and believed that *three* distinct orders of clergy had been appointed, that Father could never have asserted such a form of polity to be foretold in prophecy, which announced the appointment of no more than *two* sorts of officers."

I trust it is now clear, that in Clement's day, Episcopacy had no existence. There was no name for such an officer as a Diocesan Bishop: no allusion, no fragment bears the least trace of his existence.

Let us next call JUSTIN MARTYR, who suffered A. D. 165

* Mr. Chapin, in his work on the Primitive Church, stumbles into this ditch dug by Perceval: I cannot for a moment suppose that he knowingly concurs in so gross a piece of deception. He quotes (pp. 232 and 244) the same passage as proof from Clemens of three orders in the ministry. He passes by and suppresses the real testimony of Clemens on the matter in question; and adduces, as testimony, a passage not relating to the Christian ministry at all, but only to the Jewish Priesthood.

There is one piece of acumen, however, which appears to belong exclusively to Mr. Chapin. Clemens had said that the Apostles "preaching in cities and countries," appointed "everywhere *Bishops* and *Deacons*;" using the terms in the genuine New Testament sense. This is too naked. It will indicate that *Bishops* are still, everywhere, *Pastors of Churches*, with no change in the meaning of the word Bishop. Mr. Chapin avoids this by a new translation; making Clement read, "They appointed OVERSEERS and ministers" (instead of *Bishops* and *Deacons*).

He speaks of *two* orders in the ministry, and of two only; though expressly treating of the Church, its institutions, its officers, and worship. He speaks repeatedly of the (πρωεστως) *President* of the brethren, and of the *Deacons*; describing the President as leading the congregation in prayer (which by the way he describes as *extemporary* and not liturgical)—as setting apart the bread and wine, while the deacons distribute the same. It is evident that his President is simply the Pastor of a congregation: and so far as appears from the writings of Justin, he is entirely ignorant of such a thing as a Diocesan Bishop.

Call the next witness in order: POLYCARP, of a date some half century later than Clemens Romanus. Polycarp has been familiar with the immediate disciples of our Lord. His epistle was in such respect, among Primitive Christians, that it used to be read publicly in their churches till the fourth century. "This valuable relic," says Coleman (p. 165), "harmonizes in a remarkable degree with that of Clement, in recognizing but *two* orders of the clergy." "*Polycarp and the Presbyters with him to the Church of God dwelling at Philippi*."—If you turn to the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, you will see that he addresses the *Bishops and Deacons*. Polycarp in like manner mentions but two orders, *Presbyters and Deacons*. Coleman has justly remarked (p. 166), that "If there were three orders of clergy at Philippi, the omission of one by the Apostle, and another by this Apostolical Father, is unaccountable." Polycarp exhorts the Church to be subject to the *Presbyters and Deacons*. He intimates nothing concerning any higher officer. The conclusion is inevitable, that the words Bishop and Presbyter are still used interchangeably, as they were in the days of Paul.

Here we have Clement and Polycarp, cotemporaries and survivors of the Apostles, one at Rome, the other at Smyrna, in different languages, in portions of the Church widely separated, agreeing in making Bishops and Presbyters the same: and speaking in such terms as to preclude the supposition that they know anything of any higher officer.

But Prelatists still endeavor to press Polycarp as a witness for their cause. Can you imagine how it is done? In a very ingenious way indeed. It you turn to Chapin on the Primitive Church (pp. 229, 230), you will see how the thing is done. He *conjectures* that the Bishop of Philippi is dead;—as well he may be, since (*non est inventus*) he is not to be found. Upon this hook, he hangs another conjecture; that the Church in *Philippi in Europe*, being a Church without a Bishop,—*may* have invited Polycarp of *Smyrna in Asia*, to exercise a temporary and provisional Episcopacy over them. No history shows it: Polycarp does not intimate any such thing: no—but the exigen-

cies of Episcopacy require it; and so by virtue of two good broad *guesses*,—as broad as the *Ægean sea*,—Polycarp is very conveniently installed provisional and temporary Bishop of Philippi: and that, before the days of steam-ships or magnetic telegraphs!

If we do not allow this guess-work to be substantial proof of the claims of Episcopacy, then we have come down into the second century, and nearly through it, and not only has the word Bishop undergone no change of meaning such as is pretended; not only is there no name as yet for such a thing as a Diocesan Bishop; but no trace or hint of his existence. On the Episcopal scheme the world is studded full of them; the very life and breath of all Church-existence depends upon them; and yet, somehow, they are so very *noiseless* and *shy*, that nobody seems to know anything about them; and no footstep or trace is left either of their name or of their existence! No; nothing but a few arrant *perversions*, and some two or three chains of random guesses, is pretended, as yet, to show that Diocesans exist anywhere upon the face of the earth! The *Apostles*, so called, are dead. The *angels of the Churches* are no more. The *Bishops* sit everywhere, each as the Pastor or Presbyter of his own congregation; but the *Diocesan*, where is he?

O yes, it is said; but hear our next witness and he will tell you all about it. Hear IGNATIUS:

Ignatius! He comes too late by a whole hundred years. *Ignatius?* I hear bad stories about the writings attributed to Ignatius. I hear from Prelatists and Puritans, Papists and Puseyites, that the greater part of the writings attributed to Ignatius bear indubitable marks of forgery; and that the remainder is so full of interpolations, that no one is willing to vouch for a single sentence, that it was penned by Ignatius.

But will you not hear our truly important witness? Will you not hear Ignatius? Certainly; we wish to hear him. But first tell us yourselves how much this witness is worth. If you turn to the last page of the appendix of Chapin's *Primitive Church*, you will find it admitted that there are two versions, or distinct copies, of what purports to be the *same* seven epistles of Ignatius; the one set long, the other set short. One set teaches Arianism, the other its opposite. Chapin thinks that we may well *guess* the one which teaches Arianism, to be a forgery; and that the shorter, therefore, must be the true copy. But with regard to the epistles in the shorter set, he admits the general conclusion of the learned world; that they are *altered* and *interpolated*, with no notice given, to inform us what paragraphs, phrases and epithets, are genuine, or what are spurious.

Now, how are we to pick out what really belongs to Ignatius?

How do you know that it *is* Ignatius, that you would bring upon the stand, or that it is not some lying monk, or some scores of lying advocates of Popery, who, in the course of seven centuries, have here mingled and confounded their forgeries together? Mr. Chapin gives us a very sage rule for getting out of this difficulty. He tells us to compare the *interpolated and altered* copies with the *forged ones*; and where the dubious witnesses accord with the lying ones, he would have us *guess* that the first *probably* speak the truth; and this guess he would have us admit as a proof for Episcopacy!

Very well; let us now hear the witness, with the full understanding that we are to guess as we can, where he speaks the truth, and where the contrary. And if *he* proves Episcopacy, we will not be so unreasonable as to refuse to admit, that Episcopacy, after having come down to the second century and been found wanting, has now some tolerable ground of *guess-work* to rest upon in the testimony of a witness, concerning whom, nobody can tell when he lies, or when he speaks the truth.

"Obedience to Bishops as the successors of the Apostles," says Chapin (p. 213), "is one of the leading topics of Ignatius." "In all" [his seven epistles] "a prominent topic is obedience to the Bishop."

"Wherefore, it becomes you," says Ignatius, "to run together according to the will of your Bishop."

"It is your duty, also, not to despise the youth of your Bishop, but to yield all reverence to him according to the power of God the Father; as also, I perceive your holy Presbyters do. * * * It is, therefore, fitting that we should not only be called Christians, but be so; as some call a Bishop by that name, yet do all things without him." * * * "It is, therefore, necessary that ye do nothing without your Bishop, even as ye are wont." * * * "He that is within the altar is pure. But he is not that doeth anything without the Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons."

"For as many as are of Christ, are with their Bishop. * * * I cried whilst I was among you, I spake with a loud voice. Give ear to the Bishop, and to the Presbyters, and to the Deacons. * * * See that ye follow your Bishop as Jesus Christ, the Father, and the Presbyters as the Apostles, and reverence the Deacons as the command of God." * * * "He that honors the Bishop shall be honored of God." * * * "Hearken unto the Bishop, that God may hearken unto you."

"My soul be security for those who submit to their Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons." * * * "Especially if at unity with the Bishop, and the Presbyters and Deacons. Give ear to the Bishop, and to the Presbyters, and to the Deacons." * * *

"He that doeth anything without the Bishop and Presbyters and Deacons is not pure in his conscience."

Such is the amount of the testimony of Ignatius. The writings attributed to him, speak unequivocally and repeatedly of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

Upon this I remark,—

1. How easy it would have been for those who confessedly interpolated so much in the shortest of these epistles, to have added the word Presbyters and Presbytery in these few passages? The best critics argue, from the great stress laid upon the dignity of Bishops, and the extravagant exhortations to obey them as God the Father, that these passages were, in all likelihood, dishonestly inserted in after times, to magnify the office of Bishop. Others, and many among the deeply learned, do not hesitate to declare the whole epistles to be forgeries; alleging the tone, spirit, and style, to be indicative of a later age; that there are anachronisms, corruptions, and absurdities enough to stamp the brand of forgery upon the whole; that it is absurd to suppose that Ignatius while a prisoner, and in custody of his persecutors on his way to martyrdom at Rome, should be allowed leisure and means to write these numerous epistles. "And truly," says Stillingfleet, "the story of Ignatius (as much as it is defended with his epistles) doth not seem to be any the most probable. For wherefore should Ignatius of all others be brought to Rome to suffer, when the proconsuls, and the *Presides Provinciarum* did everywhere in that time of persecution execute their power in punishing Christians at their own tribunal, without sending them to Rome to be martyred there? And how came Ignatius to make so many, and such strange excursions, as he did, by the story, if the soldiers that were his guard were so cruel to him, as he complains they were? Now all these uncertain and fabulous narrations as to persons there, arising from want of sufficient records made at those times, make it more evident how incompetent a judge antiquity is, as to the certainty of things done in Apostolic times."

John Milton long ago made this common sense remark concerning the authority of these writings in this controversy. "To what end then should they cite *him* as authentic for Episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him."—(*Coleman*, p. 198.)

2. When we add to this, the inconsistency of this alleged testimony of Ignatius with the testimony of Clemens Romanus, and Polycarp, it is rendered the more probable, that if these epistles are genuine, their testimony is interpolated, i. e., on the

supposition that the import of the passages is what it is claimed to be. I say on this supposition ; for

3. Admitting them to be genuine it does not follow that the Bishop here spoken of, holds the office of Apostle. He may have been of the same *order* as a Presbyter, and only chosen as a special superintendent, as was afterwards done. The testimony admitted to the full extent of all that is claimed for it, does not stretch the proof back over the impassable chasm, which we have heretofore seen to exist between the Apostles and the existence of Diocesan Bishops.

4. Nothing goes to show that the term Bishop, as denoting an order of office, has as yet changed its meaning ; but positive evidence that about this time the word generally meant what it did in the days of the Apostles. The testimony, admitting it to be genuine, is capable of being explained otherwise than by supposing that the name Bishop had changed its meaning. Nothing points beyond the arrangement of the Presbyterian Church, with its Bishop (Pastor), Elders, and Deacons. There is no ground for the conjecture, that the Bishop here spoken of must have been a Diocesan, the ruler of several Churches. The Churches written to are single congregations ; at Ephesus, at Magnesia, at Tralles, at Philadelphia. No reason exists for supposing these Diocesan Churches. It is *conjectured* that they are Dioceses. It is *conjectured* that these *Bishops* are of a different order from the Bishops made by the Apostles, and which, up to this time, have been found as Pastors of single congregations, everywhere all over the Christian world. It is *conjectured* that these epistles are not forgeries ; and though interpolated, beyond the power of man to determine what parts are genuine, it is *conjectured* that *these* passages are not interpolations ; and that they are not themselves interpolated by the addition of one single word ; and so Episcopacy reposes her weight upon the strength of this chain of conjectures. It is the best evidence she has ; altogether the strongest and best. In a matter where proof would be abundant and overwhelming, broad and legible as the sun at noon-day, if the monstrous claims of Episcopacy had any foundation in truth, she is here compelled to rest upon this scanty and conjectural ground ! The very necessity which drives her to hold here is fatal to her cause.

5. What finally renders all these Prelatical conjectures of no value, is that if admitted they prove too much, and overthrow the point which Episcopacy wishes to prove by Ignatius. The point to be proved is, that Diocesan Bishops are the successors in the office of the Apostles. If Ignatius proves not that point, he proves nothing at all. But if we admit his testimony, it expressly proves that Bishops do not succeed the *Apostles*, but are

the *vicegerents of God the Father*, while Presbyters are the successors of the Apostles. Unfortunately Ignatius himself, or whoever forged or interpolated his epistles, lived too early for the more recent Episcopal theory that Bishops are successors of the Apostles. Recall Ignatius and ask him. Speak, Ignatius; are your Bishops in reality Apostles; successors in the office of those who originally bore the name? He speaks; "Yield all reverence to your Bishop according to God the Father." Well, that is rather dubious; can you not speak a little plainer, Ignatius, and tell us how it is? "See that ye *follow your Bishop as Jesus Christ the Father, and the PRESBYTERS as the APOSTLES.*"

O now we understand you, Ignatius; you afford no countenance to the more recent basis of the Episcopal claims. But speak again, Ignatius; tell us over and over again: do you agree with modern Prelatists, in making your Bishops successors of the Apostles, or do you not? He speaks, "Let all reverence the Deacons as Jesus Christ; and the Bishop as the Father; and the Presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, the college of the Apostles." And again: "Without your Bishop you should do nothing; also be ye subject to your Presbyters as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ."

It is a clear case, that whoever wrote these epistles, he was ignorant of the claims of Bishops to be successors of the Apostles; since he pertinaciously persists in putting *Presbyters* in the place of Apostles, and in making the Bishops vicegerents of God. The Ignatian epistles, however spurious or interpolated, were written before that figment was laid down as the basis of the Episcopal claims.

We have now brought the matter down to the middle of the second century, and found neither Diocesan Bishop nor official successor of the Apostles. But let us pass on.

Irenæus, who died about A. D. 202, speaking of Marcion and other heretics, says; "When we refer them to the Apostolic tradition which is preserved in the Churches through the succession of their *Presbyters*, these men oppose the tradition, pretending that being more wise than not only the *Presbyters*, but the Apostles themselves, they have found uncorrupted truth." Soon after, he styles these Presbyters, *Bishops*." "We can enumerate," he continues, "those who were constituted by the Apostles, *Bishops* and their successors even down to our time." Again he calls Polycarp "*Bishop of the Church of Smyrna*," and afterwards calls him that "Holy and Apostolical *Presbyter*." You will recognize still the Scriptural identity of Bishop and Presbyter.

Again he says, "the Apostles founding and instructing the Church (of Rome) delivered to Linus the *Episcopate*. Anacle-

tus succeeded him: after him Clement obtained the Episcopate from the Apostles:"—he proceeds to enumerate in order, "Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Hygnus, Pius, Anicetus, and Elutherus in the twelfth place."

Here, say the Prelatists, you find the succession of *Bishops*: and accordingly the names of this succession are paraded in all the tables of Episcopal genealogies. But softly: This same Irenæus writing against Victor, Bishop of the Roman Church, says, "Those *Presbyters* before Soter, who governed the Church which thou Victor now governest: I mean Anicetus, Pius, Hygnus, Telesiphorus, and Sixtus; did they not observe it? And those *Presbyters* who preceded you, did they not observe it? And when the blessed Polycarp, in the days of Anicetus, came to Rome, did he not persuade Anicetus to observe it? as he (Anicetus) declared that the custom of the *Presbyters*, who were his predecessors, should be retained?"

Irenæus uses the words *Presbyter* and *Bishop* as synonymous. The very *Bishops* set down in the list of the Episcopal succession, he styles *Presbyters*.

By this time, one appointed by the *Presbyters* of large Churches to be their moderator, began to rise gradually above his brethren; but not yet so far as to be recognized as of a different order. Accordingly we find Clemens of Alexandria, in the beginning of the third century, speaking of Bishops, *Presbyters*, and Deacons. "Numerous other precepts," says he, "directed to select characters, some to *Presbyters*, some to Bishops, some to Deacons, and others to widows, &c." Here the name *Bishop* begins to be used distinctly from the name *Presbyter*; but it does not yet begin to signify a different order; for Clemens repeatedly shows, that as yet there are properly but *two* orders in the ministry. Having observed that, in most things, there are *two* sorts of ministry, the one of a nobler nature than the other which is subservient; and having illustrated this distinction by several other examples, he says: "Just so in the Church, the *Presbyters* are entrusted with the dignified ministry; the *Deacons*, with the subordinate." He speaks of a *προκαθεδρῖα*—or *first seat* in the Presbytery.* From all which, as Coleman has well observed, "the obvious inference is, that the *Bishop* of this author is only the *πρωεστως* of early writers—the Presiding Elder of the Presbytery." "Henceforth, the title of *πρωεστως* is seldom used in the Fathers, but instead of that, the word *Bishop* constantly occurs."

Yet even after this time, the word *Presbyter* is used by Clemens of Alexandria, interchangeably with *Bishop*. Thus, he relates how John, struck with the appearance of a young man, committed him to the *Bishop* that presided over all; and the

* Coleman, p. 173.

Presbyter (the Bishop) taking this young man, nourished, educated, and lost him. John, on his return, addressed that *Presbyter* with the style "*O Bishop!*" If John called him Bishop, he must needs have been a Bible Bishop, and identical with a *Presbyter*.

Here, then, we find the rise of Prelacy, in the beginning of the third century. A *Presbyter*, first appointed as a standing moderator by the *Presbyters* of large Churches, grew up gradually into power, till finally he usurped not only the power, but the name. We trace the identity of *Presbyters* and Bishops up to the middle of the second century: and it is not pretended that there is anywhere a higher officer, of any other name.

But now, lest it should be thought that these conclusions depend too much upon the deductions of argument, and not sufficiently upon testimony, let us call a *witness* who shall substantiate these facts by his clear and undeniable testimony. Let *JEROME* come forward and tell what he knows of this matter.

Jerome died A. D. 426. *Erasmus* styles him "by far the most learned and most eloquent of all the Christians, and the prince of Christian Divines" (Coleman, p. 182). In his Commentary on *Titus*, *Jerome* says, "A *Presbyter*, therefore, is the same as a Bishop. And before there were, by the devil's instigation, parties in religion, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas, *the Churches were governed by the Common Council of the Presbyters*. But afterwards * * it was determined in the whole world, that one chosen from among the *Presbyters* should be put over the rest."

He proves the identity of *Presbyters* and Bishops by the Epistle of Paul to the *Philippians*—"Paul and *Timotheus* to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at *Philippi* with the *Bishops and Deacons*." "*Philippi*," says *Jerome*, "is a single city of Macedonia; and certainly in one city, there could not be several *Bishops as they are now styled*: but as they at that time called the very same persons Bishops whom they called *Presbyters*, the Apostle has spoken without distinction, of Bishops and *Presbyters*." He proves the same from the address of Paul to the *Elders* of the Church of *Ephesus*: "Take particular notice," says he, "that calling the *Presbyters* of the single city of *Ephesus*, he afterwards names the same persons *Bishops*." "Our intention," says he, "is to show that among the ancients, *Presbyters* and Bishops were the very same. But by little and little, that the plants of dissension might be plucked up, the whole concern was devolved upon an individual. As the *Presbyters*, therefore, know that they are subjected by the custom of the Church to him who is set over them, so let the Bishops know that they are

greater than Presbyters, more by custom, than by any real appointment of Christ."

Prelatists claim from Jerome's accommodating the language of Scripture, "when one said I am of Paul, I am of Apollos," &c., that he means to affirm that Diocesans were first created upon the dissensions in the Church of Corinth. But Stillingfleet has well replied that this is impossible, since the proofs which Jerome adduces of the identity of Bishops and Presbyters are all of a later date than that epistle to the Corinthians. It is absurd to suppose that he meant to fix the rise of Prelacy at the time of the dissensions in Corinth, and yet bring all his proofs of the parity of Bishops and Presbyters from records of later times.

Besides, Jerome says that the distinction grew up "by little and little." He denies that a Bishop is superior to a Presbyter by divine appointment, or by any other right than a *custom* of the Church which grew up by little and little. Stillingfleet has well remarked, that if Episcopacy had first been instituted at Corinth on the occasion of the dissensions mentioned by Paul, then, of all places, we should expect to find a Diocesan at Corinth. But when Clemens Romanus writes to the Corinthians, he finds fault with their turning their *Presbyters* out of the *Episcopate*. He knows absolutely nothing of any Diocesan over these Presbyters.

The testimony of Jerome stands absolute and unequivocal, that Bishops and Presbyters were originally the same; that in ancient times the Churches were governed by the common council of the Presbyters; but that *afterwards* Episcopacy grew up "*by little and little*," from Presbyters elected to preside over the rest; and that the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is not by any real appointment of Christ, but by the custom of the Church. And he appeals to Bishops and Presbyters that they both know it to be so.

But it is alleged that Jerome contradicts himself and maintains the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters. That you may have this objection in full force, I will here copy the passages as they are referred to in Chapin's *Primitive Church* (p. 200), with his capitals and italics, to set forth the important points with due prominence.

"*The Epistle to Evangelum, if it be genuine*, which some doubt, was written on hearing that some one had given *Deacons* preference to *Presbyters*, as though they were of a superior order." Upon this he says, "I hear that one was so impudent as to rank *Deacons* before *Presbyters*, that is *Bishops*. Now the Apostle plainly declares *the same to be Presbyters, who are also Bishops*." And after mentioning some of the duties of *Deacons* and *Presbyters*, he proceeds to quote Phil. i. 1; Acts xx. 17; Titus ii. 5-7; 1 Tim. iii. 8, in proof of the position he had before laid down, when he adds:

"Who are significantly called in the Greek *Episcopountes*, from whence the name of *Episcopi* (Bishops) is derived." He then quotes from one CAIUS, a Presbyter, who says:—"In the See of Alexandria, from St. Mark the Evangelist to Heracleus and Dionysius, Bishops, the Presbyters always elected one from among themselves, and raising him to a higher rank, they called him Bishop; much as an army chooses an Emperor, or as Deacons elect one from among themselves, and call him Archdeacon. *Indeed, what can a Bishop do, that a Presbyter may not do, EXCEPT ORDINATION?*" Then after saying that the same practice existed in all places, he adds, "Wherever the Bishop be, whether at Rome or Engubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanais, *he is of the same degree, and of the same priesthood*, FOR ALL ARE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES." And after some remarks concerning the Roman custom, he adds; "Let them know wherefore Deacons were established; let them read the Acts of the Apostles, and remember their condition. Presbyter is a title of age; Bishop of office. Wherefore [in the Epistles] to Timothy and Titus, is mention made of the ordination of Bishops and Deacons, but not of Presbyters, *because in the Bishop the Presbyter is contained*. We are advanced from the less to the greater; if, therefore, the Deacon is ordained from among the Presbyters, then is the Presbyter least; but if the Presbyter is ordained from among Deacons, then is the Presbyter of a higher order of the priesthood. *And we know from Apostolical Tradition, taken from the Old Testament, that what Aaron and his sons and the Levites have been in the Temple, the same the Bishops, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons may claim as their own in the Church.*"

By the help of italics and capitals, Mr. Chapin, and other advocates of Prelacy, here make out something plausible to the EYE of a careless reader, while the impression, so made, is false to the sense. If the cursory reader casts his eye over the passage so garnished, what will he find?—"What can a Bishop do that a Presbyter may not, EXCEPT ORDINATION?"—"Wherever the Bishop be—he is of the same degree—FOR ALL ARE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES."—"BECAUSE IN THE BISHOP THE PRESBYTER IS CONTAINED."—"What Aaron and his sons and the Levites have been in the Temple, the same the Bishops, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons, may claim as their own in the Church."

This array is set forth constantly, by the advocates of Prelacy, to show that Bishops are divinely superior to Presbyters; that Bishops may of divine right ordain, while Presbyters may not; and that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, correspond to Aaron, his sons, and the Levites.

Let us sift this testimony. Jerome begins with saying, "I hear that one was so impudent as to rank *Deacons* before *Presbyters*."

How does he prove that they are not so? By asserting the identity of Presbyters with Bishops: "*Now the Apostle plainly declares the same to be Presbyters, who are also Bishops,*" and he

refers to the passages commonly cited, to show the absolute identity of the two. That is, Deacons cannot be superior to Presbyters, because Presbyters are not only equal to Bishops, but identical with them.

This is the proof. Will Jerome stultify himself in pressing the proof further, by proceeding to show that Presbyters are not equal to Bishops? He certainly does not. He quotes one Caius, to *substantiate*, not to *deny* what he has affirmed; viz., that Presbyters are, by divine right, identical with Bishops. What is the proof from Caius? Why this: that in Alexandria, the *Presbyters elected one of themselves* to hold a higher authority. That could not make him of a higher *order*. By divine right, and appointment, he was still a Presbyter, though by the election of his brethren, he was made their *presiding officer*, or *moderator*;—"Just,"—says Caius—"as Deacons elect one from among themselves and make him an Arch-deacon;"—yet he is but a Deacon in *order*; he holds no *divine order* above that of simple Deacon: but is in this respect a simple Deacon still.

What further proof from Caius? Why, that even at this day, Presbyters are so identical with Bishops, that there is nothing that a Bishop may do, which a Presbyter may not, *except ordination*. Here is no *divine* right alleged, but for the sake of order, and by the election and appointment of his brethren, as Jerome has already affirmed—he has at *this* day, that pre-eminence assigned to him.

What further proof? Why this: that what this Bishop, so elected by his brethren at Alexandria, is, *that* all Bishops are, whether at Rome, Engubium, or anywhere else;—one is as much a successor of the Apostles as another; Presbyters are, by divine right, everywhere equal with Bishops.

What further proof? Why this; that Paul, writing to Timothy and Titus, speaks of ordaining *Bishops*, but nothing of Presbyters, for the simple reason, *that in the Bishop the Presbyter is contained*;—and the Bishops mentioned by Paul to Timothy and Titus are on all hands admitted to be simple Presbyters. Our author wishes to show in this place, that the *higher* order of Bishop embraces the *inferior* order of Presbyter, while Jerome's argument, and the proof which he cites from Paul's Epistle to Timothy and Titus, show that the Bishop and Presbyter referred to, are absolutely *identical*.

But what concerning Aaron and his sons, and the Levites, as answering to Bishop, Priest, Deacon? Does Jerome, after building his argument entirely upon the identity of Bishops and Presbyters, now, at the very close of it, turn round and deny that same identity? By no means. The answer of Stillingfleet is conclusive on this point; "For the comparison runs not between

Aaron and his sons under the law, and Bishops and Presbyters under the Gospel; but between Aaron and his sons as one part of the comparison under the law, and the Levites under the other" (i. e., not between High-Priest and Priests, but embracing both together as Priests and making Levites inferior). "So under the Gospel, Bishops and Presbyters make one part of the comparison, answering to Aaron and his sons in that wherein they all agree, viz. the order of the Priesthood; and the other part under the Gospel answering to the Levites under the law."—(*Irenicum*, p. 293.)

In an evil hour for Episcopacy, she fastened upon this passage to make Jerome contradict himself, by a seeming acknowledgment of a divine right of Bishops above Presbyters. His whole argument begins and ends with the *affirmation*, and the *proof* that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are, by divine appointment, *one and the same*. Instead of a contradiction, it is as strong a corroboration of Jerome's previous testimony as can well be given; that by divine appointment Bishops and Presbyters are the same; that in primitive times they were identical; that Bishops grew up into a superior order by little and little, from a human appointment as moderators; and that this both Bishops and Presbyters of his day know to be true.

We have now done with the Fathers. Their testimony sweeps the claims of Prelacy away as with the besom of destruction. Adducing their real testimony, which Perceval and other Prelatists are so careful to suppress, and clearing away the perversions of those parts of the testimony of the Fathers, which the advocates of Prelacy adduce; the evidence stands forth clear, consistent, and uniform, affording no manner of support to the Episcopal claims; but making it certain, that the entire fabric of Prelacy grew up by gradual usurpations, and is as baseless of all divine authority, or of primitive institution, as the domination of the Pope or the false prophet.*

* The learned *Stillingfleet* comes to this conclusion with regard to the testimony of the Fathers. "For as to the matter itself," says he (p. 301, *Irenicum*) "I believe upon the strictest inquiry Medina's judgment will prove true; that *Hierom*, *Austin*, *Ambrose*, *Sedulius*, *Primasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, were all of Aetius's judgment, as to the identity both of the names, and order of Bishops and Presbyters."

Churchmen are fond of saying that *Stillingfleet* afterwards changed his mind. After proving by *matters of fact* the novelty and idle claims of Prelacy, he did, indeed, afterwards, become a Bishop and a bitter enemy to all dissenters from the Church of England. *Bishop Burnet* says of him, that, "To avoid the imputation that book brought on him, he went into the humors of a high sort of people, beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things." The arguments of his *Irenicum* against the divine right of Episcopacy, were, however, such matters of fact, that he was unable ever to renounce them, or set them aside. "The book," says *Bishop White*, "was, it seems, easier retracted than refuted, for though offensive to many of both parties, it was managed with so much learning and skill, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it."

XXVIII.

INFERENTIAL PRESUMPTIONS.

High Priests. Priests and Levites. Three Orders. The Apostolic Commission. Claims of Diocesans to be Vicegerents of Jesus Christ.

It is alleged that the three orders, Bishop, Priest and Deacon, come in the place of the three orders, High Priest, Priest and Levite.

This is mere fancy ; the Bible gives no intimation of any such thing. Bishops coming in the place of the Jewish High Priests ! When was such a claim made by the Apostles ? Where is there the faintest intimation of such a thing in the Word of God ?

If this fancy were true, and if the argument drawn from it had any weight, then it would go, not for the claims of the Bishop, but for the supremacy of the Pope ; since, from the nature of the case, there could be but one High Priest in the world.

But the fancied resemblance fails. There is no correspondence between the functions of the Jewish Priesthood, and those of the Christian ministry. Every *priest* must have *somewhat to offer* ; the Christian ministry cannot be a priesthood, since the offerings and sacrifices of the Jewish law were but types of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ. The substance being come, the shadows pass away ; there is no more any Priest, or altar, or sacrifice, since Christ, by one offering of himself, hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified by him.

The High Priest entering within the vail to make atonement for sin, was a type of Christ entering into the holiest place of the true tabernacle, obtaining eternal redemption for us. For any man, therefore, to claim to come in the place of the Jewish High Priest is a deep injury to the sole priesthood of Christ.

The claims of Episcopacy, on this ground, are worse than simple error ; they are injurious to Christ, and subversive of the entire truth of the Gospel. They should never be tolerated for a moment, but met with the most pointed and indignant rebuke.

But we hear the advocates of Prelacy harping still upon the mystic number THREE. It is said that there were *three orders*

under the Mosaic dispensation, *three orders* in the time of Christ; and therefore, *three orders* in the Christian ministry to the end of time.

This, too, is fanciful. It is true there were three orders of offices under the Jewish dispensation; but that dispensation was of temporary use and arrangement. The Abrahamic Church was long with no order at all. Why not take the analogy from this, rather than from a priesthood not pertaining to the covenant, and which was designed to vanish away?

But how were there *three orders* in Christ's time? It is alleged that Christ was *one*, the Apostles *another*, and the seventy *a third*.

But the seventy were no Church officers at all. Their work was special and soon completed.

It is alleged that the *Deacons* succeeded these. But the work of the seventy was to go throughout the villages and preach preparatory to Christ's personal visits; the Deacons were permanent officers in *each Church*, to see to its secular affairs. The Bible gives no intimation that they, in any way, take the place of the seventy; and there is no resemblance between the functions of the two classes of men. It is therefore not true, that Deacons came in the place of the seventy: and not true that the seventy were any order of Church officers at all.

If our Lord is *one* order in the ministry, then who succeeds him in that order? Our Lord is *one*; *sole* head over the *whole* Church. He has no peer nor equal. If the Church constitutes one, he can have but one successor. This argument, also, makes not for the Bishops, but for the Pope. If our Lord was the *first* order, then the Apostles were the *second*; and Bishops claiming to succeed the Apostles, must still look to an order above them; and that an order consisting of *one*.

But it is alleged, that when Christ departed, the Apostles were raised one degree from second to first: that the seventy were raised to the station which Apostles previously held, and Deacons created in place of the seventy. This is all fancy, and contradictory to fact. The Apostles were not ordained again to a higher order: the seventy, instead of being advanced to higher dignity, are absolutely mentioned no more; and in no sense did Deacons come in the place of the seventy. This is all an awkward and cumbrous piece of machinery, invented for the special service of Prelacy. And yet, when Doctors of Divinity put on their robes, and talk gravely about *High Priest, Priests and Levites*; *Christ, the Twelve, the seventy*; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: *Three orders*:—how many people do not stop to examine, but receive it, as if it were not—what it is in reality—

among the grossest absurdities that have ever been attempted to be palmed off under the name of truth or argument!

But it is alleged that the *Apostolical Commission* transferred the sovereignty of the Church from Christ to the Apostles; which sovereignty devolves (through the Apostles)—upon the modern Bishops, and *that thus the Bishops come into the place of Christ.*

The first passage adduced in proof of this monstrous claim is, that in Luke xxii. 29-30. "And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the Twelve tribes of Israel. This, says Chapin (*Primitive Church*, p. 165), "Is tantamount to saying, I MAKE OVER, OR APPOINT TO YOU" AS *by bequest, the KINGDOM I HAVE RECEIVED FROM MY FATHER*; and the reason given is, *in order that they might be able to eat and drink at that table which he had spread; that is, might have power and authority to consecrate and set apart the elements of bread and wine*, so that they should become *sacramentally* his body and blood, as he himself had declared them to be." Chapin reiterates this doctrine (p. 173), insisting that Christ "*made over or committed, as by devise or bequest, THE KINGDOM* which the Father had appointed, or committed to him; in order that they might—*SIT ON THRONES (the emblems of power)*, judging (*in a judicial sense*) the twelve tribes (or persons composing the commonwealth) of Israel, which, in the New Testament, signifies *THE CHURCH.*" This is indeed a monstrous claim, now made by Diocesan Bishops, which, formerly, nobody had the audacity to make, save the Pope, *KINGS over the kingdom, given to Christ by the Father!* *KINGS* [sovereigns] of the Church! (Lords over God's heritage!) and vicegerents of Jesus Christ! Christ is no longer king: He has abdicated—made an assignment—vacated the throne, and "made over" to the Bishops "*THE KINGDOM* which he has received from the Father." Can the horrid impieties of Popery go to a greater length of extravagance and madness, than the claim which is here made for Diocesan Bishops? It is assumed that "kingdom" here means the Church; and that *sitting at his table*, means power and authority to consecrate the elements in the Lord's supper, to make them *sacramentally* his body and blood.*

* Hence Chapin argues that as power to consecrate must be derived from the Bishop, it is not lawful to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper without the Bishop's consent (p. 165). He quotes, as a document of instruction and evidence, an old Liturgy which represents the consecration as "*filling the bread with the Holy Ghost.*" In his Tract, showing the sinfulness of Episcopalians taking the sacrament from other hands, or of uniting with other denominations in their public worship, he claims that the *consecration* makes the bread "not only a sign, but also a *MEANS whereby grace is given;*"—imparting the most precious body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ to worthy partakers, and "making them one with Christ,"—"filling them with heavenly benediction, so that their sinful bodies are made clean

What mountains of consequences may be made to depend upon a little false interpretation of Scripture! If you turn to the passage in question, you will perceive that there is no transferring of Christ's kingly power, and no allusion to the sacrament of the Lord's supper contained in it at all. Let us read the whole passage: Luke, xxii. 24-30.

"And there was also a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest. And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors, But ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve; for whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth? ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

Now, what transfer of kingly power is here? The disciples, thinking about a splendid earthly kingdom, such as they supposed the Messiah would set up, *disputed who should be the greatest*. The Saviour first rebukes their ambition. Their highest greatness is to be as servants. "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations;" as if he had said; you want to be great in my kingdom;—well, you have witnessed my temptations; you have seen me a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; you have seen me destitute, afflicted, persecuted, having not where to lay my head. *Such a kingdom I appoint you*. "I appoint unto you a kingdom *as my* Father hath appointed me," i. e., glory indeed hereafter, but in the present life *tribulations*. Observe he does not say *THE* kingdom *WHICH* my Father hath appointed me; he makes no *transfer* of his kingly power; he says I appoint unto you "*a* kingdom, *as my* Father hath appointed me;" a kingdom of sorrows and humiliation. You are disputing who shall be *the greatest*, in what, you suppose, shall be my earthly kingdom. Well, you have been with me in my temptations, my trials, my sorrows; and just such a kingdom I appoint unto you; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.*

by his body," and "their souls washed through his most precious blood;" that none but Episcopal ministers have this power to consecrate; hence he concludes that the bread given at other tables, is not the food that "*our* Father hath provided for us." What extravagance of Puseyism goes beyond this? And this is Connecticut Episcopacy!

* Rosenmüller says on the passage. "The sense is, As my father hath appointed me a kingdom to be acquired by *endurance of adversities*; so I appoint unto you a glory like unto royal majesty, to be acquired *in a similar way*." That is to say, the kingdom promised to the Apostles is not *the majesty* which was promised to Christ but,—from the connection,—the *reward of labor undergone*.

Oh, what a rebuke to their ambition ! And out of this rebuke, this sorrowful declaration of the persecution and tribulation to be endured by his disciples in this world, Episcopacy derives a transfer of Christ's kingly power and sovereignty, to the order of Bishops ; and exclusive Letters Patent for consecrating the elements of the Lord's Supper, to make them *sacramentally* the body and blood of Christ, and the EFFICIENT MEANS OF CONFERRING DIVINE GRACE !

Another passage relied on as conferring Prelatical authority is THAT IN MATT. xxviii. 19, 20, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations ; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

From this it is argued : 1. That this direction is addressed, and the promise given exclusively to the Apostles in that capacity ; and that 2. As Christ is to be with the Apostles, *as such*, to the end of the world, so the Apostolic office is always to subsist ; and that the line of personal successors in this office is always to run infallible and indefectible.

Does the commission contain any such powers or promise ?

1. It is assumed that this commission gives the sole right of *ordaining* and *ruling* : but not one word of ordaining or of ruling is contained in the passage. It is a commission of *preaching*, *teaching*, and *baptizing*, which any ordinary minister may do. How then can it be a commission conferring exclusive Prelatical powers, when not one word is said of anything which Prelacy claims as peculiar to itself ?

2. It is claimed as a commission and a promise exclusively to *Prelates*. If it were so, then Prelates *alone* must go and preach the Gospel to the heathen. Instead of staying at home to *ordain* and *confirm*, and *Lord it over God's heritage*, as our modern Diocesans do, every soul of them should go to the heathen ; and *nobody else should go*, since, as it is claimed, the commission is *exclusive*.

3. The promise is not of a personal succession, that their line shall be indefectible in *ordaining* and *ruling*, but to them who go, and PREACH. Those who do not go and preach—i. e., who do not go to propagate the Gospel abroad—cannot exclusively claim this promise. To which one of our Diocesans, then, does the promise appertain ? How preposterous to argue from this promise, that Christ has been with all the infidel, obscene, and murderous Alexanders and Borgias, who have ever worn a mitre, so that the possession of a Prelate who derives his authority through their hands is a mark of the *true Church* ! But has not Christ been with his missionaries and minis-

ters (even though they were not Prelates), wherever and whenever they have been found preaching in obedience to his command? Has not Christ been with the Baptist missionaries in Burmah? with the Congregational missionaries in the Sandwich Islands? with the Moravians in Greenland?—with Elliot, the Mayhews, and with Brainerd among the Indians? Are the fruits of the Divine influences of the Spirit all limited to Episcopacy? It is true, as the famous Puseyite Dr. Hook said of this country, that “here you may see the Church” (meaning the Episcopal Church) “like an Oasis in the desert, blessed by the dews of heaven, and shedding her heavenly blessing around her in a land, where, if it were not for her, nothing but the extremes of infidelity or fanaticism would prevail?” And Bishop Brownell has seen fit to reiterate this sentiment, charging his clergy—with reference to other denominations, that “surrounded by all this *desolation*, the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, appears as an oasis in the desert.” But is it so? Is there nothing but the extremes of infidelity and fanaticism in this country, out of the pale of the Episcopal Church? Do the dews from heaven descend exclusively upon the Episcopal Church? Are their preachers and missionaries the only ones with whom Christ goes? Alas! what madness of arrogance is this! What insulting superciliousness, towards all others who bear the Christian name!

Another passage is relied on for these exclusive claims of Prelacy. It is that contained in John xx. 21, 25, “As my Father has sent me even so send I you,” &c. This “EVEN so,” Chapin argues largely, in his “Primitive Church,” to be descriptive of the POWERS granted in the Apostolic commission; the Bishops, in this respect, *taking the place of Christ*, in the authority which he received from the Father; and that this sentence confers upon the Bishops, Christ’s *regal and priestly power*; his *kingdom*; and his *authority to absolve the sins* of repenting sinners!

It appears very strange to me, how any man can possibly imagine that this passage is a *transfer* of Christ’s kingdom and priestly authority! To me it seems a simple sending forth of laborers to a self-denying work; to call men to repentance, and to invite them to salvation. So Christ was sent—to toil and to die; so he sends his Apostles; “even so,” not to die as he died, an atoning sacrifice for sin; but to spend and be spent for the salvation of dying sinners. And out of this simple sending forth as servants and laborers, Prelacy claims a transfer to lordly Bishops, of the kingdom, and priestly prerogatives of the Lord Jesus Christ! Was there ever a more monstrous or inexcusable perversion of the words of Holy Writ? Was there ever a more

unscriptural or horrid idea than this fundamental basis of Prelacy; the *demission* and *transfer* of Christ's priesthood and kingdom, to earthly representatives and vicegerents; a demission and transfer of prerogatives which he has reserved for himself for ever, and the glory of which he will not give to another!

And yet how unblushingly these claims are put forth; and put forth with scarce a rebuke; with increasing complacency on the part of Prelates, and with increasing belief on the part of their people; may be seen by some extracts from a production of Mr. McCoskry, the present Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Michigan.* In his sermon, "Episcopal Bishops, successors of the Apostles," he says, "He (Christ) is the head and permanent ruler thereof; and although now removed from sight, and seated on his mediatorial throne, yet he governs and regulates this Church, or kingdom (as it is frequently called), *by his constituted agents, to whom he has committed* THE VERY SAME AUTHORITY WHICH HE RECEIVED FROM THE FATHER." "Everything that could be possessed by a mere human being, was given by the Saviour." "He was, as the Apostle declares, the head of the body"—"consequently this *headship* was TRANSFERRED, and all the power necessary to preserve and regulate the body." * * "It must follow then, that *as* Christ is the permanent Ruler and Head of this body now in Heaven, *so* are those to whom he transferred this power permanent rulers and heads on earth." * * "The Apostles were raised to the very same office which Christ himself held, I mean that which belongs to him in his human nature, as head and governor of the Church. They were to supply his place in this respect, * * * and in short, *to do everything which Christ would have done had he continued on the earth.*" "They received the full power which Christ possessed, so long as the Saviour exercised *the* OFFICE OF HIGH PRIEST, and before he TRANSFERRED it to the Apostles, &c." * * * "It cannot be supposed for one moment, that the Saviour would transfer so great an office as he himself had received from the Father, without giving instructions, * * * whether it could be transferred to others." And this "VERY SAME OFFICE WHICH CHRIST HIMSELF HELD," Bishop McCoskry claims, has been TRANSFERRED and TRANSMITTED down to the Bishops of the present day! And if this has not been done, he declares, that "all who profess to be commissioned as ambassadors of Christ, are gross impostors!"

Surely, the Bishop of Michigan must sufficiently magnify his office. He claims to have received the *kingdom* of the Church in Michigan! holding the very same office that Christ would hold, were he on earth; with authority to do all that Christ in his hu-

* In Boardman, p. 274.

man nature might do, as head of the Church in that peninsula, were he there in person! Surely, if we may borrow an epithet of the old Puritans, we have an abundance of "POPELINGS" in our American Dioceses, each speaking "high swelling words," but scarcely in all one decent POPE. How can it be that Christ can have so many supreme VICEGERENTS, holding each *supreme* authority over the *one* Catholic Church? How can it be that there are so many *Heads over one single body*?

I see that many of the details of Popery are wanting in this system; but the very heart, and frame work, and life-blood of Popery are all here.* Let these principles prevail; let them have

* The following extract will show the progress which Protestant Episcopacy is making towards Popery in the Diocese of New York. It is from a funeral sermon, on the death of *Rev. Palmer Dyer*, late of Whitehall, preached in Trinity Church, Granville, N. Y., by *Rev. John Alden Spooner*, A. M., Rector of the Church of Messiah, Glenn's Falls, and of Zion's Church, Sandy Hill, N. Y. The extract is copied from the "*Protestant Churchman*."

"He was *Baptized*. The record and proof of that his CONVERSION is in the Church book at Granville, N. Y. At the sacred fount there his sins were washed away, and he was regenerated."

"He was *Confirmed*. There is left us no doubt as to his 'receiving the Holy Ghost.' That gift was imparted to him in the Church, by 'the laying on of the hands' of Bishop Brownell; and the record of it exists. Our ground of humble and scriptural joy is thus enlarged. Union with the mind of God was thus rendered more sure by the possession of the Holy Spirit to enlighten and guide. The heart before cleansed in Baptism, now made the tenement of the Holy Ghost in the *lesser Sacrament of Confirmation*, had double certainty of improvement."

"Hence, when after mature reading he was led to the belief that among Christians no Baptism had ever been considered unquestionably safe except it were given by a Bishop or by one ordained by a Bishop, he at once ceased to rely on any other, and not only taught so, but set a consistent example by first getting himself rightly baptized in the Church. Hence, too, he was a second time confirmed, because he felt that confirmation came rightly only after Baptism, and not till his Baptism in the Church did he consider himself as baptized at all. And hence, in the awakening to sound truth and early practice which the spirit of God has mercifully granted to part of Christendom in the last twelve years, he thoroughly sympathized; thankful if instead of one accurate and *energetic minded Froude to one kingdom, God had kindly given many to each; if, instead of one blameless Pusey to be ignorantly and unrighteously condemned*, God had kindly given more than impugnors could frame decrees to silence."

"As a final ground of consolation and the crowning and necessary mark of saintship, we notice in the deceased, *that he continued and worthily, in the communion of the Church. He knew that out of the fold there could be no expected safety: that out of the ark there could be nothing but the common distraction.*"

"Nay, if good hope exists for any one, it must be drawn from such deeds and exhibited conduct as could not be well brought together in the last hours of a few painful days, or in the distracted exercises of a last few weeks. Yea, whosoever will have himself and leave for his friends the Bible ground of hope, will have it and leave it to the portraiture following."

"Bible ground of hope requires of a person that he be Confirmed. Without the gift of the Holy Spirit, that which is required to precede all others, is imparted by the 'laying on of hands.' And in all cases, that in the laying on of the hands of the chief Minister, the Bishop, as an act distinct from Baptism and succeeding to it."

"We would have placed before this the existence of habitual private Confession and Absolution. Our judgment dictated to do that in drawing out the case of our departed brother; but our section of Christendom has lost that portion of the Christian's heritage. Yet, as we doubt not that *the intervention of the Priesthood is indispensable to a scriptural tranquillity of the conscience* so do we believe that no positive

room, and air, and time, to expand to their natural growth, and there is nothing in Popery more destructive to truth, to freedom, and to true religion, more arrogant, more impious toward God, or more injurious to man.

and undoubting ground of hope can ordinarily exist, either in an individual for himself or in others for him, except that up to the last there have been, as in the case of Hooker (page 7), habitual confession and free and full absolution and benediction."

"*It is the absolution and benediction of the Church for which God looks in the individual to determine that he is in favor.* It is to the Ministry that God says: 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' St. Matt. xviii. 18. Separated, then, from the Church we see no ordinary Bible hope of heaven. Otherwhere than in the Church, and with that Ministry which God appointed, the individual is not 'loosed from sin.'"

"*Habitual religiousness demands frequency in the stated forms and acts of piety.* Among those forms, the restored elevation of the cross, and *habitual and devout crossing of the person, should be distinguished.* In our poverty, we cannot, it is true, witness the consecrated Church at the end of every second league; but if we would, we might at such intervals behold the Cross, towards which the traveller might turn, and near which the wayfarer might kneel. And devout crossings of the person, while in every emergency and in every act we might not by word place ourselves in Christ, by this sacred symbol we should. Crossing ourselves in the beginning of a duty and at its end, as when we rise from our prayer; crossing ourselves at the appearance of danger, or in each hourly act, we thereby invoke the power of Christ and place ourselves with him: and so, from every section could one go to his death from almost within the shadow of the cross, and in any emergency close his eyes in the embrace of the Lord. To such an one no death could be a surprise."

"Again, among those acts of piety that should be frequent, and that, next to the holy Communion, are of chiefest efficacy in making the soul ripe for even an unwarned death, are, habitual private confession, and the Pastor's absolution and the Pastor's blessing. Inflicted Penance is the loving correction that maketh great; the Pastor's absolution and the Pastor's frequent blessing are the purest and richest gifts through Christ on this side of heaven to fit to live, to fit to die, and to insure the best destiny of eternity. Frequency in the stated forms and acts of piety is necessary to habitual religiousness."

XXIX.

EPISCOPAL EXCLUSIVENESS—ITS BASIS SUPERSTITION.

THE Bishop's charge in Primitive times was a single Church, not a Diocese of Churches. Like our Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches, every congregation had its Bishop, and every Bishop his congregation. For a long time these Bishoprics were about as numerous in Christian countries, as Congregational Churches in New England. The parish and the Bishopric were coextensive and identical. Instead of one Bishop in a territory, like that of Connecticut, there were scores, if not hundreds. There were no Diocesans over these congregations and their Bishops; each Bishop was what the Apostles made him and left him, the Pastor of a single Church. If any one will see the proof of this, let him read Lord King, on the Primitive Church; a work which Slater has vainly attempted to set aside. Let him read Mosheim, or the lectures of Dr. Campbell, or the recent works of our own Punchard and Coleman. The length to which these lectures have already been protracted, admonishes me that I ought not to enter upon the details of this part of the subject: nor is it, indeed, necessary. Let me simply quote the conclusions of Archbishop Whately on this subject; conclusions of whose correctness the amplest proof is at hand.

"*Each Bishop,*" says Whately, "*originally presided over one entire Church.*" It seems plainly to have been the general, if not the universal practice of the Apostles, to appoint over EACH SEPARATE CHURCH, a single individual." * * "A Church and a Diocese seem to have been for a considerable time *co-extensive and identical.*" "And each Church or Diocese perfectly independent as regards any power of control." "The plan pursued by the Apostles seems to have been, as above remarked, to establish a GREAT NUMBER of SMALL (in comparison with modern Churches), DISTINCT, AND INDEPENDENT COMMUNITIES, each governed BY ITS OWN SINGLE BISHOP, consulting no doubt with his Presbyters, and accustomed to act in concurrence with them, and occasionally conferring with the brethren in other Churches."

Whately (like *Stillingfleet*) renounces all pretensions to a divine authority for Episcopacy. He denies that modern Episcopacy conforms to the Primitive model; and justifies it only on the ground that the Church has power to alter and arrange its own polity, without being limited and restricted to one particular form. "And they" [the English Reformers], he says, "rest the claims of ministers, not on some *supposed sacramental virtue* transmitted from hand to hand, in unbroken succession from the Apostles, in a chain of which, if any one link be even doubtful, a distressing uncertainty is thrown over all Christian ordinances, sacraments, and Church privileges; but on the fact of those being the regularly appointed officers of a regular Christian community;" and that regular Christian community, he regards as "a *congregation of faithful men*,"—"having *inherent rights* belonging to a community;" to declare what is the regular way of appointing their officers (pp. 123-125). "The Church of England," he maintains, "it is notorious," "does not possess exact conformity" to the most ancient models. And he adds—"To vindicate them on the ground of the exact conformity, which it is notorious they do not possess, to the most ancient models, and even to go beyond this, and condemn all other Christians, whose institutions and ordainers are not utterly like our own—on the ground of their departure from the Apostolical precedents, does seem—to use no harsher expression—not a little inconsistent and unreasonable." "And yet, one may not unfrequently hear numbers of Episcopalians pronouncing severe condemnation on those of other communities, and even excluding them from the Christian body: not on the ground of their not being under the *best* form of government, but of their wanting the very essentials even of a Christian Church; * * and this while Episcopalians have universally so far varied from the Apostolical institutions, as to have in one Church several Bishops, each of whom, consequently, differs in the office he holds, in a most important point, from one of the Primitive Bishops, as much as one of the governors of our colonies differs from a sovereign prince."

Had not this work been already so long protracted, it would afford an interesting and important topic of inquiry, to trace *in history* the simultaneous growths of *prelatical assumption* and *superstition*, as side by side, faithful and inseparable coadjutors, they strode on to an undivided dominion over the understanding, the conscience, and the liberties of mankind. No sooner was the figment of the *Christian ministry a priesthood* invented, than the path to despotism over the conscience, and to the subversion of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, lay open without obstruction. Ambitious Prelates were sure to exalt their ghostly power, and to grasp an entire monopoly of con-

ferring that power in ordination. Forms, canons, sacerdotal rites, absolutions, penances, false doctrine after false doctrine, and one superstitious ceremonial after another, followed in the train, till the Gospel and all religious liberty well nigh expired together. WHAT IS NOW CALLED PUSEYISM, IS THE NATURAL, AND SURE TO BE THE ULTIMATE SYSTEM OF PRELACY. It is but a mingling of the same old elements in the same old way. Superstition goes hand in hand with every advance of the exclusive and monstrous claims of Prelacy. He who forms his anticipations of the future from the history of the past, will readily perceive, that these two conspirators against truth and freedom are only travelling the road which they travelled before, when corruption in doctrine and usurpation of power went hand in hand to take their seat upon the seven hills of Rome.

With these remarks we proceed to notice—

THE EXCLUSIVENESS OF THE EPISCOPAL CLAIMS.

The Rev. Mr. Wetmore, one of the earliest champions of Episcopacy in Connecticut, did not hesitate to say of the Congregational Churches in this State that “they must necessarily be esteemed *abettors and approvers of schism, disorders, and usurpation*; contempt of the chief authority Christ has left in his Church;” and that “whatever they may call themselves, and whatever show they may make of piety and devotion in their own ways,” they “ought to be esteemed in respect to the mystical body of Christ, only as excrescences or tumors in the body natural, or perhaps as *fungosities in an ulcerated tumor*, the eating away of which, by whatever means, tends not to the hurt but the soundness of the body.”

If such language had been uttered only by a few, or only for some hundreds of times; if it were not truly descriptive of the principles, and the line of conduct pursued by all High Church Episcopalians, with regard to other denominations of Christians, we might pass it by as the raving of bigots; some of whom are to be found in all bodies of Christians, and whose extravagances are not to be regarded as an index to the principles and spirit of the body. But I am sorry to be obliged to say, that this is only a sample of the spirit and bearing assumed by Episcopal Ecclesiastics in general (with some few rare and honorable exceptions), towards all other Christians, save only the followers of the Pope. “Incongruous sects” of “Dissenters” is the style adopted by Bishop Brownell with regard to all other Christian denominations. The Episcopal Church he styles “The true Catholic Church.” The Episcopal Bishops, in general, no longer style their communion “The Protestant Episcopal Church,” but “*The Church*,” intending by that term to deny the right of all other

bodies of Christians to be considered as Churches. The Right Rev. Thomas C. Brownell writes himself Bishop, not of the *Episcopal Church* in Connecticut, but "BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT," intending thereby to claim, and actually claiming, exclusive sovereignty by divine right over all Christians in the whole field. So another styles himself not—bishop of a diocese of Episcopalians in New York, but BISHOP OF NEW YORK; a sovereign by divine right of the whole territory. Another claims to be BISHOP OF MARYLAND; and another has been addressed in a Dedication, by the celebrated Pusey as "GEORGE, LORD BISHOP OF NEW JERSEY;" and "Lord George" claims to be the rightful and exclusive *Apostle* of that domain; as another claims to hold the "VERY SAME OFFICE," in Michigan, "which the Lord Jesus Christ" would hold over Christians in that field, were he personally to come down and undertake to be their ruler. The "Church Almanac," published by authority, talks not of *The Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, but of "THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES," intending thereby to deny that there is, or can be, any other Church or Churches in the whole domain. Not long since, an Episcopal minister (Rev. Mr. Watson) spoke in a printed sermon, of the people in the sixty towns in Connecticut where Episcopacy is not planted, as "*destitute ones*," "destitute of the sacraments, destitute of a Scriptural ministry, destitute of the Church;" and declared that "every inch of the ground" belongs to Episcopacy. Bishop Brownell looks abroad over the tens of thousands of Christians and Churches of all Protestant denominations in this land, and complacently styles them a "Desolation," in the midst of which, "The Protestant Episcopal Church appears as an oasis in a desert." The Bishop and his Presbyters concur in admitting the authenticity of the Papal Church and Priesthood, while they deny the same to all Protestants, save of their own Church. A "Presbyter of Connecticut," in an extensively circulated tract, declares he "cannot regard the *confused mass of Protestantism* as anything else but a human contrivance, the weakness and folly of man; the result of departing from the divine and primitive institution of Christ." "With as much propriety," he declares, "might we suppose there is more than one Holy Spirit, as to suppose that there is more than one *Church*." "The Romish Church," he says, "must be regarded as a portion of the Catholic Church, since she possesses the Apostolic ministry; her sacraments, though vitiated, are not invalid." But "as to Protestant Dissenters, how can *they* claim to be a portion of the true body of Christ, when they lack the very foundations of a Church?" "At the same time," he says, "we are free to acknowledge that they exhibit fruits of piety in their lives. We could take example from them," * * * we

doubt not they *may* be saved; * * so we believe the *heathen* may be saved." In the same manner Palmer, whose work is in the highest vogue among Episcopalians, says of other denominations, "They and their generations are as the heathen, * * we are not warranted in affirming absolutely that they may be saved." Bishop Hobart, in his "Companion to the Altar," says, "Let it be thy supreme care, O my soul, to receive the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour, only from the hands of those who derive their authority by regular transmission from Christ." "Where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the Church by participation of its ordinances at the hands of an authorized priesthood is the *indispensable condition of salvation*." "Great is the guilt, and eminent the danger of those who, possessing the means of arriving at the knowledge of the truth, negligently or wilfully continue in a state of separation from the authorized ministry of the Church, and participate in ordinances administered by an irregular and invalid authority." Says Bishop Onderdonk of New York, "None but the Bishops can unite us to the Father in the way of Christ's appointment; and these Bishops must be such as receive their mission from the first commissioned Apostles." Other Episcopal writers of standard authority in that Church use such language as this: "The only ministrations to which the Lord has promised his presence, are those of the Bishops who are successors of the first commissioned Apostles." "The real ground of our authority is our Apostolic descent." "An uninterrupted series of valid ordinations has carried down the Apostolical succession to the present day."

"Christ," say the Oxford Tracts, "never appointed two ways to Heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution to save other men. There is no other name given under Heaven among men whereby we may be saved, but the name of Jesus; and that is no otherwise given under Heaven than *in the Church*." "It is not merely because Episcopacy is a better, or more scriptural form than Presbyterianism, * * * but because the Presbyterian ministers have assumed a power which was never entrusted to them. They have presumed to exercise the power of ordination, and to perpetuate a succession of ministers, without having received a commission to do so." "A person not commissioned from the Bishop may use the words of baptism, and sprinkle or bathe;" * * "he may break bread and pour out wine, and *pretend* to give the Lord's Supper, but it can afford no comfort to any to receive it at his hands, because there is no warrant from Christ, to lead communicants to suppose, that while he does so here upon earth, they will be partakers of the Saviour's heavenly body and blood."

"As for the person himself, who takes upon himself without warrant to minister in holy things, he is all the while treading in the footsteps of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, whose awful punishment you read of in the book of Numbers."

A work entitled "A Doctrinal Catechism of the Church of England," has the following questions and answers:

"Who appoints dissenting teachers ?

"*Ans.* They either wickedly appoint each other, or are not appointed at all ; and so in either case their assuming the office is very wicked.

"But are not dissenting teachers thought to be very good men ?

"*Ans.* They are often thought to be such, and so were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, till God showed them to be very wicked.

"But may we not hear them preach ?

"*Ans.* No ; for God says, depart from the tents of these wicked men."

Says the author of a sermon recently published at New York : "She [the Church] must administer to you according to the record of her own testimony." * * * "Within these prescribed boundaries, her power is absolute over you, so long as you remain in her communion, which you cannot renounce, excepting at the peril of your salvation."

The Rev. Palmer Dyer, of Whitehall, N. Y., says, "No religious society or communion, of whatever denomination or character, is a *Church*, unless it be Episcopal." "We cannot be brought into the Holy Covenant, except in an Episcopal Church ; or by the agency of an Episcopal ministry." "Those who profess to be ministers of the Gospel without having received Episcopal ordination, possess no more ministerial authority than any private Christian." "Their supposed commission is a nullity ;"—"it involves the guilt of schism and rebellion." "Those who separate from the Episcopal Church, reviling and opposing it, and connecting themselves with Anti-Episcopal sects, are in fact fighting against God." "We can have no fellowship with non-Episcopal sects, nor ever pretend to receive Christian sacraments from them ; they have no real sacraments to give."

I have not excerpted here and there the mere slips of a few unguarded writers, but have taken passages which express guardedly and designedly the very claims which, in all sobriety, our Episcopal neighbors designedly and unwaveringly assert. These are but common specimens of the common phraseology and spirit in which those claims are advanced at the present day. This is the actual attitude and bearing of the Episcopal Church in this country, towards all other denominations and their ministry. The Prelates and their clergy who admit anything inconsistent with these claims are few and far between.

We now pass to THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THESE CLAIMS ARE MADE, TO SHOW THE SUPERSTITION WHICH THAT PRINCIPLE INVOLVES.

That principle, I affirm, to be the fundamental principle of Popery ; a principle inconsistent with the essential truth of the Gospel, and tending to its entire corruption and subversion.

The principle, the fundamental idea, on which these excessive claims of Episcopacy are built, is that of regarding the Christian ministry as a PRIESTHOOD, to work by virtue of a ghostly power conferred in ordination, a priestly intervention between God and man for the forgiveness of *sins* ; in opposition to the doctrine of salvation by FAITH ALONE.

This ghostly power is affirmed to have been committed to the Apostles, and by them to have been transmitted exclusively to their successors in office, the Diocesan Bishops. This is the ground on which it is claimed, that there can be no Church without a Bishop.

Take the following illustration of the nature and spirit and foundation of this claim. In one of the cities of Connecticut is a venerable Congregational minister whose labors God has owned and blessed for more than a quarter of a century. By his side is a stripling in a surplice, renowned chiefly for a Eulogy on Archbishop Laud, and more recently for a work maintaining that the difference between Episcopacy and the popular system of religion in New England, is not one of non-essentials of Christianity, but one affecting "the very nature and being of the faith ;" in which work he intimates the scriptural authority for *bowing* whenever the name of Jesus occurs in the Liturgy, for requiring stated *vigils and fasts* by authority of the Church ; for using the *sign of the cross* ; for *saints' days*, the *tonsure*, and for the oil of *Chrism*.

That venerable Congregational minister is now regarded as a *Dissenter*, a *schismatic*, a *rebel*, a son of *Korah* ; while that surpliced stripling is a true minister of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I inquire for the specific difference between the two. What does the one possess which the other has not ? I am told, that when the former preaches, the Gospel from his lips conveys no assurance of salvation to them who repent and believe ; that his preaching is unauthorized and invalid ; and that the same is true of his baptisms, and his administrations of the Lord's Supper ; that his people are all out of the pale of covenanted mercy, and if saved at all, they are not to be saved on Gospel grounds or promises, but by *mere uncovenanted mercy*, like the heathen ; and that for these reasons every tyro of a Deacon in the Episcopal Church is authorized, and by canon enjoined, to treat that venerable minister as an interloper and an impostor ; and utterly

forbidden to treat or regard him as a true minister of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I ask *why* is this? What has that stripling, which this venerable minister has not; the possession of which causes this amazing difference in the validity of their acts? I am told that it is this: A certain *Bishop* has had on his head the hands of a man, who has had on his head the hands of another, and he of another man, and so on—clear back to the Apostles; that through this chain of conductors a *virtue has flowed*; which that Bishop has communicated to that stripling by laying his hands on his head.

Absurd and ridiculous as this statement appears, it is not only the grave doctrine of Episcopacy, but the very foundation of all its monstrous claims.

Having already traced the foundation of this doctrine in the Judicious Hooker, the next author whom I shall quote is Law, who became famous in the celebrated Bangorian controversy in the reign of George I. Many suppose that Puseyism is a "Novelty" in the Episcopal Church, and so Bishop Hopkins affects to treat it.* You have seen it to be the dominant doctrine of Episcopacy in the days of Elizabeth. You have seen it ripening and symbolizing still more closely with Popery, under Archbishop Laud. It became rampant once more in the High Church days of Queen Anne; and the specimen which I shall now give you is taken from the days of the First King George. The trait here furnished is not indeed an *incident* in the history of High Church Episcopacy; it runs throughout—constituting the very life-blood of its existence.

The Work of Law was written on this wise: Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, in preaching before King George I. asserted the supreme authority of Christ, as king in his own kingdom; denying that he had *delegated* his power to any deputies or vicegerents. He afterwards published his "Preservatives," in which he undertook to oppose what he considered the fundamental principles of temporal and spiritual despotism. In one word, you will perceive that the tenets which he opposed, were the same as those of the modern Puseyism.

Law became the Church champion against Hoadley; and his work is of the highest authority among all Episcopalians of the present day.

Hoadley had said, in opposition to the notion of ghostly power claimed by the priesthood, that "to expect the grace of God from any hands but his own, is to affront Him:" * * * "Human benedictions, and human excommunications, have nothing to do with the favor of God."

* "Novelties which disturb our peace."

Upon this, Law replies, "It is evident from the maxim (for your Lordship asserts it as such), that whatever institutions are observed in any human society, upon this supposition, *that thereby GRACE IS CONFERRED by human hands, or by the ministry of the clergy*—ought to be condemned; and are condemned by your Lordship." Upon this he makes a home thrust at Bishop Hoadley, from the offices of the Church under which the Bishop was ordained; the office of ordination containing the words "*Receive the Holy Ghost*," and pretending to *confer* the Holy Ghost in the ceremonial of ordination. "The Bishop," says Law, "laying his hands on the person's head, saith, receive the Holy Ghost for the office work of a priest." "From this," says Law, "it is plain (1.) that *the reception of the Holy Ghost is necessary* to constitute a Christian priest: (2.) *that the Holy Ghost is conferred through human hands*. If, therefore, your Lordship is right in your doctrine, the Church of England is evidently most corrupt. For if it be dishonorable and affronting to God to expect his grace from human hands, it must of necessity be dishonorable and affronting to God, *for a Bishop to pretend to confer it by his hands*."

"Suppose," says he, "your Lordship was to have been consecrated to the office of Bishop by *these* words: "Take thou power to sustain all things in being, given thee by my hands: I suppose your Lordship would think it entirely unlawful to submit to the terms of such an ordination. But, my Lord, *receive the Holy Ghost*, is as impious a form according to your Lordship's doctrine, and equally injurious to the Eternal power and Godhead as the other."

Law proceeds: "Suppose your Lordship had been preaching to the Laity against the authority of the Virgin Mary, and yet should acquiesce in the condition of being made a Bishop in her name, and by recognizing her power: could such a submission be consistent with sincerity? Here you forbid the laity to expect God's grace from any hands but his; yet not only accept office upon a supposition of the contrary doctrine, but oblige yourself, according to the sense of the Church wherein you are ordained as Bishop, to act frequently in opposition to your own principles."*

* It is but a few days since a Protestant paper in New York, describing an ordination by the Popish Bishop, spoke of the solemn effect of the "thrilling words" "*Receive the Holy Ghost*." To my mind it was horrible and blasphemous, that a man, pretending to act by virtue of ghostly power running down through a succession of monsters of impiety and pollution, all red with the blood of saints and martyrs for a thousand years—should pretend to have power officially to confer *the Holy Ghost*! To me it seemed a horrible attempt at aping the Lord Jesus Christ in his omnipotent power. Nor was the impression more favorable when I read an account of the same words being used at the ordination of the present Bishop of the Protestant Diocese of Massachusetts. The nature of the claim—viz. the power offi-

Law proceeds to show the claim made by the Church to convey God's grace by human hands in the office of confirmation. "The design of this institution," says he, "is that it should be the means of *conferring grace* by the prayer, and imposition of the Bishop's hands on those who have already been baptized." "When the Bishop is said to confer grace in confirmation, this is properly an *authoritative benediction*." "In this sense the people are said to be *authoritatively blessed* by the regular clergy, because *by their hands* the people receive the grace of God's ordinances."

So, when the Bishop or the priest pronounces the customary benediction, Law says, "We do not consider this barely as an act of charity and humanity, of one Christian praying for another, but as the work of a person who is commissioned by God to bless in his name, and to be *effectually ministerial in the conveyance of his grace*."

Concerning the Lord's Supper, Law asks, as though the power of the sacrament were indubitable, "Can God consecrate inanimate things to spiritual purposes, and make them the means of eternal happiness?"

Of the pretended *absolution* used by the priests of the Episcopal Church, Hoadley had said, "The same you will find a sufficient reply to their presumptuous claim to an *authoritative absolution*. An infallible absolution cannot belong to fallible men." To this Law replies, "Is it not as easy to conceive that our Lord should confer his grace of pardon by the hands of his ministers, as by means of the sacraments? And may not such an absolution be justly called authoritative?"

Hoadley had said, "But to claim a right to stand in God's stead, in such a sense that they can absolutely and certainly bless with their voice alone; this is the highest absurdity and blasphemy, as it supposes God to place a set of men above himself; and to put out of his own hands, the disposal of his blessing and curse." To this Law replies: "Now if it has pleased God to confer the Holy Ghost in ordination and confirmation, and *only by them, &c.*, and to annex the grace of pardon to the imposition of their hands on returning sinners; is it any blasphemy to claim and to exert their power?" Again and again he speaks of "annexing grace to sacraments," and making them "necessary to salvation." "Now, my Lord," says he, "these are the sacerdotal prayers which your lordship encourages the laity to despise. Your lordship sets up, in this controversy, against the arrogant pretences and false claims of the clergy."

cially and authoritatively to confer the Holy Ghost—whether uttered by Popish or Protestant lips taken in connection with the claims of Diocesan Bishops, sounds in my ears horrible and discordant—nearly resembling blasphemy.

From these powers and functions of the priesthood, he argues the "absolute necessity of a strict succession of authorized ordainers, from the Apostolic times, to constitute a Christian priest."

Now compare with this system of Law, the following creed of the "New York Churchman," the organ of the Bishop of that Diocese, and the expositor of the views of the majority of its laity and clergy. "A ministry of the Apostolic succession, empowered to act as Christ's ambassadors and representatives on earth; the divinely appointed *limitation* of the blessings of salvation and the gifts of the Holy Spirit to communion with this ministry in the sacraments and word and ordinances of the Church; regeneration in baptism; salvation suspended on faith and good works; the supreme authority of Scripture as explained and interpreted by the Church; these are the principles which are plainly written in our Prayer-Book, and these we are resolved, by God's grace, to maintain both in life and death."

Coincident with these views, are the doctrines of a sermon preached A.D. 1843, before the convention of the Diocese of North Carolina, entitled "Sacerdotal Absolution," which teaches that "it is the explicit sense of our Church that the power of remission and retention [of sins] is as permanent as the ministry, and is an essential prerogative of the sacerdotal office;" that "to remit sins," is to be understood in its literal acceptation; and that "such was the understanding of our Church when the Liturgy was prepared;" "that a power was given [to Apostles and their successors] *over DOCTRINES and PERSONS*;" "with the specific power of *retaining and remitting sins*;" that to him who is loosed by the priesthood "heaven is opened, to him who is bound, heaven is shut;" that with regard to "Absolution," "God having appointed an order of men in the world for accomplishing his gracious purposes of mercy toward mankind, makes them *his agents* in conferring the blessings which he has in store for them;" that in absolving sins, the minister, "as representative of Christ, *does what Christ himself would do under the same circumstances*;" that his "sovereign will ratify the acts of his ministers as much as if they were done by himself;" that "the final purpose of Christ's kingdom on earth being the remission of the sins of men, and his ministers being the authorized agents for fulfilling its offices, who therefore act in his name and in his stead, their acts done with their authority will be ratified and sealed by him as effectually as though done without their immediate agency." "And hence it may be properly urged, of what special and positive value is a ministry, if its service be only of incidental benefit, such as might ensue from the sober action of any man whatever, and not of an appointed and *certain efficacy*,"

one to which mankind, encouraged and fortified by the promise of God, can confidently resort as the divinely authorized *agent* for dispensing grace to the soul. * * A true authority implies either an inherent or accompanying power, which is competent to all the purposes for which it is held; * * that is, in the present instance, the ministry have either an *inherent* or *accompanying* power to FORGIVE SINS, by pronouncing the *formula of absolution*!"

Such is the doctrine of all Churchmen who regard their Church as having a divine and exclusive right. It is the doctrine, not so much of Pusey, as of the Church itself. The Church compels all her ministers, high or low, to act in accordance with it, in denying all other ministers to be ordained. It acts out the same system in ordaining over again all ministers who come to their fold from the Protestant ranks, and in receiving without re-ordination all priests who come to them from the Church of Rome. There are indeed evangelical ministers in the Episcopal Church, who reject these views, but Mr. Barnes has well shown their "position."* *The Church* is against them. Its offices compel them to belie their sentiments, at every baptism, confirmation, and ordination. The system here set forth, is essentially the system of Popery; it is inconsistent with Protestantism, and with the Reformation. And yet this is the *very basis* of all the exclusive Episcopal claims; a pestilent superstition; the sum and essence of the great anti-christian apostasy of Rome. No one can even begin to talk about *valid* ORDINATION, *valid ordinances*, and *Apostolical succession*, till his head is first filled with the fundamental principles of Popery.

Words cannot express my astonishment, that such claims, and such doctrines, should find any countenance or toleration in anything pretending to call itself a Protestant Church. What wildness of fanaticism, what depths of delusion, what ravings of madness, go anything beyond this quiescent and complacent fanaticism, which coolly pretends to *Apostolical succession*, with power, to confer grace to impart the *Holy Ghost*, and *authoritatively to absolve sins*! Yet, this is the system of High Church Episcopacy, and has ever been so, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present day.

* See Barnes on the position of the evangelical party in the Episcopal Church, in the New Englander.

XXX.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, CORRUPT AS A DOCTRINE, FALSE IN FACT.

THE basis of the Episcopal doctrine of Apostolical succession is the idea, that the Christian ministry is a *Priesthood*, whose office is less to preach the Gospel, than to PROPITIATE GOD *by the exercise of priestly functions*; and to be the *indispensable and efficient instruments* of CONVEYING TO MEN THE GRACE OF GOD BY THE MINISTRATION OF SACRAMENTS.

This mystic "virtue," it is pretended, is received in *ordination*; being conveyed down from the Apostles, exclusively through *the order of Bishops*, to the *priesthood* of the present day. A mere *Presbyter* is a non-conductor. Should he pretend to ordain, the "virtue" is not imparted; the chain is broken.

Valid ordination, and *valid* sacraments, consist in this; that when other men consecrate the elements in the Lord's Supper, these elements fail to become *sacramentally* the Lord's body and blood, and can furnish no spiritual benefit and comfort. Other men may preach the Gospel, but there is no *covenanted mercy* to those who believe the Gospel so preached; and who repent of their sins, and serve God in the communion of these men unordained by virtue of the Apostolical succession. But the *ordained* priesthood, when they preach, actually pledge God to fulfil the promises of the Gospel to those who embrace them; *their* preaching is *valid*; when *they* consecrate the elements in the Lord's Supper, they make them *effectual means*, as well as *authoritative signs*, of grace. When they pronounce the *benediction*, the people are *authoritatively blessed*; and when they pronounce the *absolution*, it becomes valid on earth and in heaven; the sinner is truly, authoritatively, and effectually absolved from his sins.*

* To the proofs of these Episcopal dogmas, given in the last lecture, the following may be added from that choice Churchman, Bishop Whittingham of Maryland: "The ministry of the Christian Priesthood in the word and sacraments, is equivalent in its *nature* and *efficacy* to that of the Jewish priesthood, in offering of animals and other sacrifices. Christ's own availing blood is *avouched* and *pledged* by the outward act of his REPRESENTATIVE, THE PRIEST." The Lord Jesus Christ asserted his claim to power, as a man sent from the Father, *to forgive sins*. Now

These are the claims of Episcopacy in behalf of the prerogatives of Apostolical succession. These are the avowed grounds of *the necessity of that succession*.

Bishop Brownell, in his charge, says of this doctrine of Apostolical succession, that "no doctrine is more universally received by the whole body of our Church;" and that he "knows not a single clergyman who rejects it." On this ground he boldly rests an issue concerning the whole claims of Episcopacy.

"If," says Bishop Brownell, "a regular ministerial succession in the order of Bishops be not conformable to Scripture and Apostolic usage, *Episcopacy is an unjustifiable usurpation*."

I accept this issue; and affirm that this doctrine of Apostolical succession is, as to its very basis, fundamentally contradictory both to Scripture and to reason; that the dogma upon which it is built, is subversive of the true Gospel, and is the fundamental dogma of Popery; and that, as a matter of fact, this pretended succession in the order of Diocesan Bishops, is both false and absurd.

If these positions can be sustained, then by the terms of Bishop

what he so claimed, we find that he afterwards conveyed in the most explicit terms to those whom he left to *represent him in the Church*." "Eating his flesh and drinking his blood in the Supper of the Lord is the *pre-requisite to the forgiveness of sins which the Saviour gave his Apostles and their successors power to minister*."

With regard to *Baptism*, our Episcopal neighbors are at some loss, and in no small perplexity. They claim that baptism confers regeneration. "The true economy of the Christian religion," says Bishop Brownell, "regards men by nature as the CHILDREN OF WRATH. It takes them from this state, which is called in Scripture, 'The kingdom of Satan,' and TRANSFERS THEM BY BAPTISM unto the family, household, and kingdom of the Saviour." The baptism, he says, makes them "in *deed* and in *truth*, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven." And yet they admit the baptism of other ministers, as lay baptism, and do not ordinarily rebaptize. It is, therefore, in their view, *valid*, and if there is no other way to get out of the "kingdom of Satan," than by baptism, and if lay baptism is *not* valid, then several of the most considerable *Bishops* of the Episcopal Church are yet "children of wrath," and subjects of the kingdom of Satan; having received none other than (in their view) lay baptism.

Now one would think that taking a child of wrath out of the kingdom of Satan, and converting him in deed and in truth into a child of God, and an heir of the kingdom of heaven, must be one of the most stupendous works to be achieved by any priesthood. What priest of the Apostolical succession can do more? And yet this it is admitted is done by lay baptism! But how is it, that the child so baptized and made a child of the covenant, is still destitute of the covenanted mercies of God? There seems to be some discrepancy between the claims and doctrines of Prelacy here.

It is said that the irregular baptism is "*confirmed*" and rendered *valid* in the confirmation administered by the Bishop. This has been gravely argued by no less a man than the learned Dr. Jarvis. But to this it has been well replied, "Was that irregularly baptized person in deed and in truth regenerated in that irregular baptism? If so, does confirmation regenerate him over again? Is the confirmation necessary in order to render that regeneration which is already so? Or if he was not regenerated in the irregular baptism, then the baptism was a nullity—a nothing; does the confirmation make that a regeneration which was nothing? And since confirmation is confessedly no regenerating ordinance, how can it make that a valid regeneration which was no regeneration at all?"

Brownell's alternative, "Episcopacy is an unjustifiable usurpation."

Protestantism and Popery are two great antagonistic and irreconcilable systems; not of *order* and *polity*, merely—but in the fundamental doctrines of the respective schemes. Protestantism sends the inquirer for salvation, directly to God's Word for instruction; and directly to Christ alone for help. Her doctrine is, *Justification by faith alone*, requiring the soul only to embrace and obey the Gospel, without resorting at all to the intervention of a human priesthood as essential to salvation. Popery says, No: you cannot go to the Bible *alone* for instruction; nor to Christ *directly* and alone for help. You cannot be justified by faith alone, you must have the help of a human priesthood with its valid sacraments, or you cannot be saved.

Here, then, are the two schemes of salvation; justification by faith alone; and justification by priestly intervention for the forgiveness of sins. The last is the fundamental principle in the dogma of the Apostolical succession, as held both by Papists and by so called *Protestant* Episcopalians. Which doctrine is "conformable to Scripture and Apostolical usage?"

The Apostle Paul says, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." How strangely Paul talks, cries the Priest of the Apostolical succession: "Sent me *not to baptize!*" Why "the true economy of the Christian religion," says Bishop Brownell, "takes" men "from the kingdom of Satan," and from "children of wrath" it "transfers them BY BAPTISM into the family, household and kingdom of the Saviour!" Paul sent not to baptize! Why, Christ sent *me* to BAPTIZE, cries the High Churchman: preaching is but a subordinate affair. And thereupon, Bishop Whittingham raises his voice: "*Ministerial intervention for the forgiveness of sins, is the ESSENCE of the Priesthood.*"

"And hath given us the ministry of reconciliation," says the Apostle Paul. What, then, is the essence of that ministry? Baptisms? Confirmations? Sacraments? Priestly absolutions? Ministerial interventions? So says the *Apostolical succession*. But the Apostle Paul denies it. He talks not of the *sacraments* of reconciliation; but when he speaks of the "ministry of reconciliation," he adds, "And hath committed unto us the *WORD of reconciliation.*" "So then," cries the Apostle Paul, "Faith cometh by *HEARING*, and hearing by the *WORD OF GOD.*" "Of his own will begat he us by the *WORD OF TRUTH.*" *Baptismal* regeneration! Paul makes a distinction heaven-wide between baptism and regeneration: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but *a new creature.*" Circumcision (or baptism, its substitute) then is no part of the

new creature, and does not, in this respect, avail "*anything*."—In the account of Apostolical succession, however, baptism avail-eth *everything*: it takes the children of wrath and "transfers" them into the kingdom of God.

The scheme of Paul makes nothing of priestly intervention, and much of faith: it makes very little indeed of any priestly prerogatives or interventions, in the matter of forgiveness of sins. Accordingly he says, "Who then is Paul, or who is Apollos, but ministers BY WHOM YE BELIEVED?" Who is Paul! *Who? Our* ministers are more than that: they are ministers by whose *priestly interventions* and *valid sacraments* ye were "*transferred* from the kingdom of Satan, into the household, family and kingdom of Christ." Who is Paul? who is Apollos?—*Our* ministers are *somebody*. They have received their commission *from Bishops*, who have received their commission from other Bishops, who have received theirs from others, clear back, till the authority comes at last directly from the Apostles.

Paul was an Apostle himself. His commission came through no dubious links of a dubious succession. He was not compelled to show a diploma of power received from a succession running back through monsters of iniquity all over blackened with lust and crimsoned with blood. He was an Apostle "neither by man nor *through* man," but by the direct calling of God. And yet Paul could say, "so then neither is he that planteth *anything*, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." He cuts up the claims of High-Church Prelates by the roots, and throws them to the winds. He rejects the dogma on which they build their arrogant claims, and counts it another Gospel.

Such is the dogma of Apostolical succession AS A DOCTRINE: false, contradictory to the Scriptures, and subversive of the Gospel: the very opposite, and fundamentally opposite, to the scheme of salvation preached by the Apostles, and recorded in the Word of God.

Let us now test it by applying it to practice.

A man wishes to examine the grounds of his hope of personal acceptance with Christ.

The Bible says, "Let a man examine *himself*." "Examine your *own selves*, WHETHER YE BE IN THE FAITH. Prove your own selves." O no, says the Churchman;—not your "*own selves*;"—not "*whether ye be in the FAITH*;"—but examine the *Diploma of your Priest*: examine whether ye be IN THE CHURCH; in the words of our Right Reverend Father in God Bishop Hobart; "Let it be *thy* SUPREME CARE, *O my soul*, to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour, *only from the hands of those who derive their authority by* REGULAR TRANSMISSION

from Christ." "Where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the *Church*, by participation of its ordinances at the hands of an AUTHORIZED PRIESTHOOD, is the indispensable condition of salvation."

It will not do, therefore, for the devotee of Prelacy to "know nothing but Christ and him crucified." The Gospel, *alone*, cannot afford him a valid promise of salvation. It is equally important for him to show something about "the *Church*," and the "*endless genealogies*" of the "succession." The diploma of his priest is of equal consequence to him with the Gospel; since, if the pedigree of his priest is defective, he can have no more assurance of salvation than a heathen. And though it would appear somewhat ridiculous, for a Christian *Priest*, when a poor sinner asks, "What shall I do to be saved?" to hold up his spiritual pedigree for that sinner's examination; yet, to be consistent, he ought in all reason never to omit it. He should take the table of the genealogies, as officially published by the Tract Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or by Chapin, and holding it up before the inquirer, he should say, "Behold here, the security for salvation, through the Gospel preached and sacraments administered *by me*! See here, that sacraments administered *by me* are genuine. See how the succession runs: VALENS, DOLCHIANUS, NARCISSUS, DIUS, GORDIAS, NARCISSUS again; ALEXANDER, MAZABANES, HYMENÆUS, ZAMBIDAS" "GURNEL, LENDWITH, GORNWIST, GORWAN, CLENDAKE, EYNYÆN, ELUDGÆTH, ELVAOTH, MAELSCHEWITH," and so on. Do you understand? These are links in the "*succession*." Through links like these, power has come down to Bishop Brownell, Bishop Onderdonk, Bishop McCoskry, and to Bishop Hughes. Through the hands of such a Bishop, the virtue has come down *to me*. If you have been baptized, and have received the Lord's Supper by my hands, or by the hands of some one like me validly ordained, and no special unbelief or wickedness hinders, you have become indeed and in truth a child of God. But if your minister was not of this succession, no matter how sincerely you may repent and believe the Gospel, the Gospel contains no covenant, or promise, or revealed provision, by which you may be saved. Examine, therefore, your Priest's spiritual pedigree; and as Bishop Hobart says, "Let it be thy *supreme care*."

Now, with regard to this system, I say it is the antagonist system both of Protestantism and of Christianity. It is fundamentally corrupt and anti-christian. It is essential Popery; not indeed in submission to the supremacy of the Pope, for this is but a circumstance in the scheme; it is Popery, inasmuch as it holds out the way of justification, not by faith alone, but by the efficiency of priestly prerogatives and offices. When you have

turned the poor sinner away from Christ alone, to the sacraments, and to the efficacy of priestly interventions, you have adopted all that is fundamental in the system of Popery. Auricular confession, penances, absolutions, and extreme unction, are mere appendages to the scheme. The Greek Church, and other corrupt forms of Christianity, though they differ in minor things from the Roman, yet agree with it in this, that they make justification dependent upon priestly offices and prerogatives, and with these the High Church scheme (of late called the Puseyistic) fully agrees. Go the world over, and you find that system the fruitful mother of superstitions, the natural tendency of which is, to obliterate the true character of the Gospel, and to bind men in the chains of spiritual despotism. The doctrine of justification by faith alone, in opposition to the dogma of justification by priestly offices and interventions, was the great doctrine of the Reformation. Luther declared it "THE ARTICLE OF A STANDING, OR OF A FALLING CHURCH." The Oxford Tractarians understand this well, and hesitate not to declare that the Reformation, in its fundamental principle, is to be abandoned. I repeat it; the very source of all the abominations of Popery, is this doctrine of justification by priestly offices, the doctrine fundamentally involved in the dogma of Apostolical succession. All the other corruptions of Popery are mere adjuncts and trappings of the scheme; mere satellites of this great planet of darkness. Whenever a man begins to talk about *valid* ordinances, *valid* sacraments, *valid* ministry, and Apostolical succession, he is, in principle, no longer a Protestant; henceforth, he appropriately belongs to the same generic class with the followers of the Pope. With Luther, I do not hesitate to declare the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE the "*Articulus vel stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*," the point of demarkation between a standing or an Apostate Church. This was the great battle ground of the Reformation; and it is my deep conviction that on this ground that battle is to be fought again. It is to be the great contest of the age; perhaps of several ages to come. The advocates of Prelacy have fairly and unequivocally taken their ground, precisely where the Pope and the Cardinals stood, when Luther raised his voice for the great article of a standing or a falling Church. It is no dispute about robes, or liturgies, or ceremonies, or Lent, or Easter, or saints' days, or angels' days, that is to determine this conflict; no, nor any dispute concerning the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope. This principle prevailing, the question of the Pope's supremacy is not worth a straw. To think of putting down Popery by arguing against transubstantiation, the papal supremacy, and things of that sort, is as idle as to think of dipping the river dry without ascending to its springs. The Reformation

was more radical than this ; it took its stand upon the great doctrine of justification by faith alone, in opposition to justification by priestly offices and interventions ; and to this basis the controversy is destined to descend once more.

But let us apply to this dogma of succession a further test ; not so much to try the principle, as to examine the *proof* of the succession as a *matter of fact*, whether the doctrine can in any sense become an article of *faith*.

A sinner inquires, What must I do to be saved ? *We* (I mean we "Dissenters," Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and the whole Protestant world save the Prelatists) say to him, The matter lies wholly between your own soul and your God. "No outward form can make you clean." No earthly Priest can do you good.

"Behold I fall before thy face,
My only refuge is thy grace ;
No outward forms can make me clean,
The leprosy lies deep within.

"No bleeding bird, nor bleeding beast,
Nor hyssop branch, nor sprinkling priest,
Nor running brook, nor flood, nor sea,
Can wash the dismal stain away."

If you had the Apostles here themselves, instead of their pretended official successors, they could do you no good. You must "*BELIEVE on the Lord Jesus Christ*," that is, with a penitent and broken heart, despairing of all other help, commit your soul to the efficacy of Christ's atoning blood, as set forth in the provisions and promises of the Gospel. "*With the heart man believeth unto righteousness.*"

If that man so believes, and is baptized, and keeps Christ's ordinances with any portion of the people of God, we do not suppose it will ever be inquired what was the pedigree of his minister, or whether it was done in a Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, or other church. We have our preferences ; we think that some of these, in unessential respects, are laboring under errors ; and they think so of us. We leave every man in these respects to be fully persuaded in his own mind. To his own master he standeth or falleth. But salvation is not dependent on Church folds, or denominational peculiarities. We suppose that one, laboring under the error of rejecting all outward sacraments, and all official ministers (e. g., like the Quakers), will not be rejected from salvation, provided he *holds the head*, i. e., that he has penitently and obediently embraced the Lord Jesus Christ, and sincerely endeavors to keep his commandments.

We therefore point the anxious inquirer directly to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to *him* ALONE. We do not hesitate to adopt the language of Paul; "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise; say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven (that is, to bring down Christ from above); or who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.)—But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is the word of faith which we preach; That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

No, says the Prelatist; something more than this is requisite. "Communion with the priesthood of the Apostolic succession is the indispensable condition of salvation." If saved without this, it must be only as the heathen may be saved, by the unknown, unrevealed, uncovenanted mercies of God. The *Gospel* affords you no promise of salvation without your coming under the hands of a priest of the true Apostolical succession.

Be it so. Yes, be it so. The anxious inquirer concludes to take that way to salvation, and INQUIRES FOR THE TABLES OF THE GENEALOGIES.

Where are they? he inquires. In the Bible?

Oh no; God has not revealed those tables, nor has inspiration kept the record.

Not in the Bible! Why, really it seems strange that God has revealed so *much* truth, and yet left out the truth of all truth, the one which I want most, and on which my salvation absolutely depends; at least on which it depends so far as the Gospel can be of any use to me at all! Not in the Bible? Why, *faith* embraces truth on the *authority of God*; and here it seems I am to rest my faith on something *without* the authority of God. Not revealed that table of genealogies? How then is it possible for me to know what I must do to be saved?

Oh no, anxious sinner, you must *trust* the CHURCH.

What, your *Protestant* Church, that does not even *pretend* to be infallible? A Church which, while it pretends to be Catholic, is absolutely rejected by the immense majority of the Catholic world? Well, be it so, since there is no remedy; but tell me; has your *Church* kept the record? And has *she*, on *her* authority, ever set that record forth as infallible and true? Show me, at least, the authentic record of her *action* in this case; that I may know that it is the *Church* that I trust, and not something set forth by *somebody*, without any authority of hers.

In consistency with his principles, the priest ought to say: As to these matters, anxious inquirer, *the Church* has never kept the record; *the Church* has never, by any act, set the record forth,

or authoritatively vouched for it. But then it runs *pretty tolerably fair*, through a tolerably fair *tradition*; howbeit, in some of the links, we confess, there are some discrepancies among different authors. But *learned men* have, with great research and pains, made out as accurate lists as may be; and the Church,—yes, the Church *may be considered* as having received them by a sort of tacit consent. You may therefore rely upon it; yes you may rely upon it; for although, if the Church had actually set forth those lists she might have erred; yet you may consider her *general tradition* (i. e., not her tradition, but the tradition generally received *among* her members), you may consider this tradition, *in a sort*, infallible, and fearlessly venture your soul upon it. Howbeit, should a link happen to fail, you are gone, like a heathen, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. We can, however, give you nothing more certain than this; it is the best the Church can do in the case.

Well, so be it, responds the inquiring sinner; but this seems a strange sort of *faith*, believing on no revelation or warrant of *God*; no, nor yet on any warrant of the *Church*, which, even if she should warrant, is not infallible, nor able to make good her guaranty; and believing this on a *tradition*, I have not even the sober action of the *Church* that it is *her* tradition at all. But so it must be; give me the lists of the succession; the table of “genealogies;” show me this spiritual pedigree on which I must hang the salvation of my soul.

Do I seem to trifle? The trifling is not mine. I have done no more than to state in plain language, the doctrine of Apostolical succession in its application; a doctrine on which I am told to my face, that I am no minister of Christ, but an interloper, a usurper, a son of Korah; and that the Church to which I minister is no Church, but an assembly of rebels and schismatics; who in all their pretended sacraments wickedly profane the ordinances of God. I have not trifled; I have indeed stated in plain language a doctrine which needs only to be stated in plain language, to appear ridiculously absurd. If the carcase is so monstrous when the cloak is off, blame the monster, not him who uncovers it.

Let us, however, proceed, for these absurdities are not fully exposed.

The anxious inquirer takes the list; and since it is not in the Bible, and since the *Church* does not see fit to vouch for it, he takes *Chapin*; and longing to find a ground on which he may rest as the warrant of his salvation, he opens at p. 347, and reads, as his eye glances along the list of the genealogy, thus:

" LINUS,
 ANACLETUS,
 CLEMENT,
 EVARISTUS,
 ALEXANDER,
 ZEPHYRUS,
 PONTIANUS,
 DIONYSIUS,
 CAIUS,
 MILTIADES,
 DAMASUS I.,
 ZOSINUS,
 GELASIUS,
 HORMISDAS,
 PELAGIUS I.,"

and so on, till that single line has swelled to *eight pages* (which of course we have not room here to repeat). This is the list through which the present American Bishops derive their paternity from Rome.

The inquirer now opens again at p. 325, and reads such names as these :

" JAMES ALPHEUS,
 SIMEON,
 JUSTUS I.,
 TOBIAS,
 VALENS,
 DOLCHIANUS,
 DIUS,
 MAZABANES,
 ZAMBIDAS,
 HERENIUS,"

and so on.

He turns again to p. 326, to the list once so essential to the salvation of all who lived in Wales :

" DAVID,
 ELIUD,
 KENEVA,
 MORVÆL,
 HAERNURIER,
 ELVAETH,
 GURNEL,
 GORNWIST,
 GORWAN,
 CLENDAKE,
 EYNYAEN,
 ELUDGAETH,"

and so on.

He opens again at p. 331, to the names, without which salvation was unable to flow to the inhabitants of the Diocese of York :

“ PAULINUS,
VACANCY 20 YEARS,
CEDD,
WILFRID I.,
BOSA,
ST. JOHN OF BEVERLY,
EANBALD,
WULSIUS,
WIMUNDUS,
ETHELBALD,
ALFRIC PUTTOCK.”

Here then are the lists ; certain ; infallibly certain, say some of the Prelatists ; and so they should be, since the salvation of the world depends so largely upon them.

But suppose that one (i. e. that I myself) should, in all sincerity and earnestness, wish to know if I may hang my hopes of salvation upon the strength of this pedigree. I begin to inquire. I would not, surely, suspend myself over a bottomless gulf upon an old rope, or rusty chain, without seeing *how it is fastened, and what is the condition of the links*. I begin to look into this matter.

I see that according to Dr. Hook, our Episcopal Priests can trace their pedigree up to *Peter at Rome*, or up to *Paul* through the *old line* of British Bishops. But was Peter ever at Rome ? Is it *certain* that Paul ordained any of the old Bishops in Britain ? *How is the chain fastened ?* The most learned men who have pushed their inquiries in that direction, deny that Peter was ever at Rome ; others acknowledge that it is improbable ; and the proof is absolutely wanting. *Here the chain hangs upon an old rotten peg of a doubtful and improbable tradition*. It is also a matter of doubt, and very improbable, that Paul ever was in Britain. The *proof* is absolutely wanting. The *fastening* here is so uncertain that a prudent man would not risk a farthing on it.

But waive the *fastening* : come to the SUCCESSION. “ Come we to Rome,” says Stillingfleet, “ and here the succession is *as muddy as the Tiber* ; for here Tertullian, Ruffinus, and several others, place CLEMENT next to Peter : Irenæus and Eusebius set ANACLETUS before him. Epiphanius and Ophthatus make both ANACLETUS, and CLETUS, and LINUS, to precede him. What way shall we find to extricate ourselves out of this labyrinth ? ”

Bishop Jewell says, “ But, wherefore, telleth us M. Harding [the Jesuit], this long tale of succession ? Have these men their

own succession in so safe record? Who then was Bishop of Rome, next by succession unto Peter? Who was the second? Who the third? Who the fourth? Irenæus reckoneth them together in this order, thus: Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clemens. Ophatus, thus: Petrus, Linus, Clemens, Anacletus. Clemens says that he himself was next to Peter." [Chapin says Linus was.] "Hereby it is clear," continues Bishop Jewell, "that of the four first Bishops of Rome, M. Harding cannot certainly tell who in order succeeded each other."

Stillingfleet shows that with regard to what was done in most countries, after the Apostles, there are no authentic records. "But," he says, "instead of this, we have a general silence of antiquity, and nothing but the *forgeries of later ages* to supply the vacuity; whereby they fill up the empty places, as Plutarch expresses it, as geographers do maps, with some fabulous creatures of their own." "For who dare with confidence believe the conjectures of Eusebius, at three hundred years' distance from Apostolic times, when he hath no other testimony to vouch, but the hypothesis of an uncertain Clement (certainly not he of Alexandria, if Jos. Scaliger may be credited), and the commentaries of Hegesippus, whose relations and authority are as questionable as many of the reports of Eusebius himself are, in reference to those elder times; for which I need no other testimony but Eusebius, in a place enough of itself to blast the whole credit of antiquity as to the matter now in debate. For speaking of Paul and Peter, and the Churches by them planted, and coming to inquire after their successors, he makes this very ingenuous confession. "There being so many of them, and some of them naturally rivals, it is not easy to say which of them were accounted eligible to govern the Churches established, unless it be those that we may select out of the writings of Paul?" Such is the testimony of Eusebius.

Here we have it; these lists of genealogies rest mainly upon the credit of Eusebius; and Eusebius confesses that, beyond the New Testament, there is no manner of certainty.

But hear the remarks of Stillingfleet upon this confession of Eusebius:—"Say you so? Is it so hard a matter to find out who succeeded the Apostles in the Churches planted by them, unless it be those mentioned by Paul? What then becomes of our unquestionable line of succession of the Bishops of several churches, and the large diagrams made of the Apostolical Churches, with every one's name set down in his order, as though the writer had been *Clarenceaux*" [king at arms] "to the Apostles themselves? Is it come to this, that we have nothing certain but what is in Scripture? And must then the tradition of the Church be our rule to interpret Scripture by? An excellent

way to find out the truth doubtless, to bend the rule to the crooked stick ; and to make the judge stand to the opinion of his lacquey, what sentence he shall pass upon the cause in question ; to make Scripture stand cap in hand to tradition, to show whether it may have leave to speak or not ! Are all the great outcries of Apostolical tradition, of personal succession, of unquestionable records, resolved at last into the Scripture itself, by him from whom all these long pedigrees are fetched ? Then let succession know its place, and learn to vail bonnet to the Scriptures. And withal, let men take heed of overreaching themselves, when they would bring down so large a catalogue of Bishops from the first and purest times of the Church ; for it will be found hard for others to believe them, when Eusebius professeth it so hard to find them. Well might Scaliger then complain, that the interval from the last chapter of Acts, to the middle of Trajan, was “ a mere chaos filled up with the rude conceptions of Papias, Hermas, and others, who, like Hannibal, when they could not find a way through, would make one by force or fraud.”

So much for the tables of the genealogies. The accounts are contradictory and fabulous. Eusebius, on whose authority they chiefly rest, declares that there is no certainty about any of them, beyond the record of the New Testament.

The anxious inquirer now wishes to know what he must do to be saved. Instead of going to the Bible alone for instruction, and to Christ, alone and directly, for help, he is told to make it his “ *supreme care*,” to look for a priest who can help him by valid and authorized “ *priestly intervention* ;”—that “ Christ is the way to the Father, and there is no way to Christ, save by *the Church* ; and no Church without a Bishop of the Apostolical succession,” so that “ The Bishop alone can unite him to the Father.” Sure enough, if this be true, the pedigree of his priest must be his “ *supreme care*.”

Instead of the *Bible*, therefore, which gives him no light on this most important of all questions, he takes up *Perceval* or *Chapin*, or some list of the succession given in a tract of the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society : He opens and reads :

“ CEDD, WILIFRED I., BOSA,—EANBALD, WULSIUS, WIMENDUS ;”—shall the dying sinner hang his salvation on this chain of the succession ? Had there been no blacksmith, St. Dunstan, to pull the devil’s nose with his hot pincers ;—must the whole of Old England—though ever so full of the Gospel—have gone to remediless perdition ? But the genealogy ;—is one Christian, in half a million, capable of examining this list ? Tell me, plain Churchman—what do you know about “ OSKILEL, ALFRIC, PUTTOCK, KINSIUS, REDWARDUS, BLEITHENEL, SULGHEIN, RYTHMARCH, GALFRID, or JORWITH ? Take any one of these and prove

to me that such a man ever had any existence;—that he ever received the Apostolical succession;—that he ever transmitted it. Go to any one of the members of our neighboring St. Paul's, who glory in nothing so much as in the *succession*, whereby they are "*the Church*;" and ask him to prove, concerning any one of these, or any one of a hundred other links, that there was such a man; that he regularly received the succession; that he regularly transmitted it; and I hazard nothing in saying not one of these can do it. You may go to the Rector, or to the Bishop, and ten thousand to one, that neither can tell you, off hand, anything about these men; nor perhaps, should I enumerate a dozen names as uncouth as these, could they tell whether any one of that dozen other names is in the list or not. And I affirm, without hesitation, let them examine as much as they please, there is no manner of certainty to be attained. *Dr. Prideaux* declares that with regard to what persons filled such or such links in the upper end of the chain, "it is a very doubtful question;" and that there is "no certainty to be had." *Calamy* declares that "the head of the Nile is not more obscure" than the first part of these tables. And when you come down five or six hundred years, and take only the pretended succession in Britain, *Stillingfleet* declares, "As to the British Churches,"—"from the loss of ancient records we cannot draw down the succession of Bishops from the Apostolic times."

Besides this, there are lines where they can be traced branching off like a river in a swamp, running and meandering diverse ways, agreeing in nothing save in nourishing venomous monsters and reptiles:—There are lines of succession each claiming the entire ground, and each denouncing and anathematizing the other. With regard to those divided and dubious parts of the Roman succession, *Baronius* himself, the great Romish historian says that "for fifty years together there was not one pious man."

* * "O what was then the face of the holy Roman Church! How filthy, when the vilest and most powerful harlots ruled in the court of Rome! by whose arbitrary sway Dioceses were made and unmade; Bishops were consecrated, and (which is inexpressibly horrible) false Popes, by their paramours, were thrust into the chair of St. Peter." * * "In those elections no mention is made of the acts of the clergy, either by choosing the Pope at the time of his election, or of their consent afterward. All the canons were suppressed into silence; the ancient traditions were proscribed; the customs formerly practised in electing the Pope, with the sacred rites and pristine usages, were all extinguished. In this manner, lust, supported by secular power, excited to frenzy in the rage for nomination, ruled all things.

Now observe what the anxious inquirer is obliged, in the out-

set, to believe as the fundamental doctrines of his creed. FIRST, he must believe, that all these monsters of lust and butchery, these infidels and atheists, *were true APOSTLES OF JESUS CHRIST; that they had power not only to confer the Holy Ghost, but that they had the entire monopoly of all the covenanted mercies of God*; so that the poor witnesses, who perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or were burned by this true line of the succession, were probably lost as rebels and followers of Korah. SECONDLY, he must believe that through these turbid and filthy waters the stream of succession ran canonically and pure; that, in spite of these disorders, the Apostolic office was regularly and infallibly transmitted; and, THIRDLY, that no name in the list is either fabulous or doubtful, but certain and true as the everlasting throne.

All this he must believe with a strong faith; for if Christ was not constantly with that succession of monsters; if the Apostolical virtue and office did not run uncontaminated through the filthy waters; if a name in the whole list be either fabulous or doubtful, the inquirer can have no secure ground of salvation. He must hang the destiny of his soul on this chain, and hold to these articles of belief with an unwavering faith, or he cannot be a "*sound Churchman*"—he can have no security that he shall ever be saved.

But the inquirer is told that *he need not examine* these matters; that THE CHURCH is his security for all this. I beg pardon; "*all this*" must be his security *for the Church*. Without a Church, and before he can receive the witness of anything that claims to be a Church, he must first test those claims by these doctrines. *He must believe these doctrines before he can believe that anything is a Church*; he must prove the Church by all this before he can receive her testimony.

But as to receiving this list on the authority of *the Church*;—who speaks for the *Church*? She has not spoken on the subject, and we have already seen that we must, on the Prelatical scheme, receive these lists before we can ascertain who has a right to speak, either as the Church, or on her behalf. Who is the Church? Where does she speak? Nothing that claims to be *the Church* has ever spoken, in her own name, on these points. If so, show us where; when; by what council, either of the world, of a nation, or even of a Diocese. True it is that many *individuals*, who pretend to be of the Church, gravely tell us that the list is absolutely certain; and as many more, acknowledged to be of the Church, tell us that the whole lists are not worth a straw. Who speaks for the Church? Why, even on this ground, the testimony of the Church is as traditional, as uncertain, and as contradictory, as the very lists of the succession

to which she is called to bear witness. And were it true that the *Church* had spoken, and that too the *whole Church*; and that she had spoken unanimously, and authoritatively; I do not know that the *Church* is infallible any more than the Pope. Nothing is certain but God's word, and that is a rock. I refuse to build my salvation on the ground of any mere human testimony.

Baronius shows again, that for fifty or eighty years together, there have been two or three popes at the same time; one of them denying to the other the very name of Christian, reproaching each other with the appellation of heretic and anti-Christ, and each pronouncing the other an unlawful Pope; that one cut off two of the fingers of his predecessor; dug up the bodies of others from their graves, and having insulted their ashes, ordered their bodies to be cast into the Tiber; that sometimes all the three popes together were condemned and degraded by a general council as false popes, heretics, ungodly wretches, not even to be reckoned in the number of Christians; and that nevertheless many of the Bishops and clergy were ordained by the false popes. Did the current nevertheless run pure through all these?

I am aware that many Churchmen, not relishing the idea of drawing their life-blood from the paps of what the reformers call such "a foul, filthy, withered old harlot," endeavor to avoid that channel, and to trace the succession in *Britain* directly up to the Apostles. This is all idle and impossible. No mortal can tell who first preached the Gospel in Britain. No one can prove that either of the two pretended heads, Peter and Paul, was ever on the island. No one can trace the early list of names. If there were ever any records, they have all perished; and were they not so, the Roman flood came in and swept over the land, overturning and commingling everything. The only *pretence* that can possibly be made is, that peradventure some *Homœopathic drop* of the old succession may be mingled *somewhere* in this turbid flood.

But the plea is otherwise all idle; since they who make it, are after all compelled to admit that the Romish succession is good, or else to claim that the Anglican and the American Episcopal Churches compose the entire Catholic Church, and are the only parts of the true Church in the whole world. And if it be once admitted that blood, and murder, and lewdness, and atheism, and all manner of irregularity and false doctrine, can taint the succession, then no one can be sure that the succession is not entirely lost.

"Who can undertake," says Archbishop Whately, "to promise that during that long period usually designated as the dark ages, no such taint was ever introduced? Irregularities

could not have been wholly excluded without a perpetual miracle; and that no such miraculous interference existed, we have even historical proof. Amidst the numerous corruptions of doctrine and of practice, and gross superstitions that crept in during those ages, we find recorded descriptions, not only of the profound ignorance and profligacy of life of many of the clergy; but also of the greatest irregularities in respect of discipline and form. We read of Bishops consecrated when mere children; of men officiating, who barely knew their letters; of Prelates expelled, and others put in their places by violence; of illiterate drunkards, and profligate laymen admitted to holy orders; and in short, of the prevalence of every kind of disorder and reckless disregard of the decency which the Apostle enjoins. It is inconceivable that any one, even moderately acquainted with history, can feel a certainty, or any approach to certainty, that amidst all this confusion and corruption, every requisite form was in every instance strictly adhered to by men, many of them openly profane and secular, unrestrained by public opinion through the gross ignorance of the population among which they lived, and that no one not duly consecrated or ordained was admitted to sacred offices.”—“Even in the memory of persons now living, there existed a Bishop concerning whom there was so much of mystery and uncertainty prevailing as to when, and where, and by whom, he had been ordained, that doubts existed in the minds of many persons whether he had ever been ordained at all.”—“The ultimate consequence must be, that any one who sincerely believes that his claim to the benefits of the Gospel covenant depends on his own minister’s claim to the supposed sacramental virtue of true ordination; and this again on perfect Apostolical succession; must be involved, in proportion as he reads and inquires, and reflects, and reasons on the subject, in the most distressing doubt and perplexity.” “It is no wonder, therefore, that the advocates of this theory studiously disparage reasoning, and deprecate all exercise of the mind in reflection; decry all appeals to evidences, and lament that even the power of reading should be imparted to the people. It is not without cause, that they dread and lament an ‘age of too much light,’ and wish to involve religion in ‘a solemn and awful gloom.’ It is not without cause, that having removed the Christian’s confidence from a rock, to base it on sand, they forbid all prying curiosity to examine its foundation.”

Chillingworth takes the same view. “In fine, to know this one thing (viz. that such or such a man is a Priest), you must first know ten thousand others, whereof, not any one can be known.” * * “He that shall put them together, and maturely

consider all the possible ways of lapsing and nullifying such a priesthood, will be inclinable to think that it is a hundred to one, that amongst a hundred seeming Priests, there is not one true one."

Archbishop Whately roundly declares, that on this dogma of succession, "there is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree."

The present English Bishop of Hereford says, in a charge to his clergy, "You will exceed all just bounds, if you are constantly insisting upon the necessity of a belief in, and a certainty of, the Apostolical succession in the Bishops of our Church, as the only security for the efficacy of the sacraments."—"To spread abroad this notion, would be to make ourselves the derision of the world."

We may now demand what possible security can any High Church Prelatist have, on his own grounds, that he can be saved by any provision or promise of the Gospel? He must believe in God's Word; he must believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. But it is more important that he believe, that his Priest derives a sacerdotal virtue by a personal succession from the Apostles. Does God's Word tell him anything of this succession? Not a syllable. Does any authentic *record*, divine or human, assure him that the pretended list of the succession is true? There is no such record. Can he trace out the lists and satisfy himself, by substantial evidence, with regard to even half of the particular names in those lists, that they are names of persons who regularly received and transmitted the Apostolical virtue? No man living can do it. The earliest, and most competent uninspired historian of the early times of Christianity, confessed that it could not be done with any certainty.

What then is the belief of the *jure divino* Prelatist? It is not FAITH; for faith must rest upon the Word of God. It is not REASON; for reason bases her conclusions on *evidence*; of which there is, in this case, an utter deficiency. The belief of the High Church Prelatist, and of every one who, like Bishop Brownell, builds anything upon this Apostolical succession in the Order of Diocesan Bishops, is A PALTRY SUPERSTITION; a mere dogged credulity; the raving of bigotry and fanaticism; for after all that is said of fanaticism, there is no fanaticism on earth more wild and baseless, than that of a man who coolly pretends to have received the *Apostolic office*, with power to confer the *Holy Ghost*; to "transfer" men by virtue of his priestly prerogatives and efficacious administration of sacraments, "out of the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God." I speak soberly, when I declare my conviction, that the Papist, when he blindly believes

that his Priest, by virtue of *transubstantiation*, can create the body and blood of his Saviour, and give it whole and entire to each one of a hundred communicants, is not guilty of more credulity and superstition, than the man who believes in the prelatic doctrine of priestly prerogatives derived through a pretended Apostolical succession; and who ventures, in that faith, to commit his soul to the efficacy of sacraments administered by the hands of any particular man, in the confidence that that man possesses such a transmitted Apostolical virtue.

Yet this is the ground on which it is claimed that there can be *no Church without a Bishop!* This is the ground on which Episcopal clergymen tell the ministers of all other denominations of Christians, that they are no ministers of Christ, but followers of Korah! And though low churchmen reject these claims, yet they allow themselves, by the unchristian and wicked *canons* of their Church, to be compelled into this unkind and contemptuous treatment of all other ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ! They sometimes tell us, "We would if we could treat you as ministers of Christ; but the Canons forbid us." Ought they not seriously to reflect upon the right of any Christian men, and especially of Christian ministers, to treat the Lord's ministers and people in this injurious manner, out of *obedience to any mere human canons*? Would not the same principle have justified them in acquiescing in canons which sent the people of Christ to the dungeon, or to the stake, had they lived at the times when such canons were in force? "He that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much." Obedience to such canons, countenances the pestilent false doctrine on which such canons are grounded; it abets the turning of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ into substantial Popery; and more than this, obedience to such canons, contrary to one's own conviction of their justice, is treason against one's own conscience and against the Lord Jesus Christ. There is a great eternal law of truth and righteousness, which is paramount to all canons of Church enactment; and low churchmen should see to it, that they do not, out of obedience to the traditions of men, make void the law of God.

Such, then, is the Apostolical succession as a DOCTRINE, and as a FACT: as a *doctrine*, unfounded in Scripture, and contradictory to it;—injurious to the sole and eternal priesthood of Christ, and constituting the fundamental principle of Popery. As a *fact*, it is ten thousand times over a falsehood: the pretended succession being broken and shivered at every turn. Rome may be challenged to produce a doctrine more erroneous in theory, more false in fact, or involving a greater amount of mischief and absurdity. Mormonism itself is not a combination of greater superstition,

fanaticism, and folly. And yet this is the doctrine on which the exclusive claims of Prelacy are all based! The alternative of Bishop Brownell is true and inevitable: "*If a regular ministerial succession in the order of Bishops be not conformable to Scripture and Apostolic usage, Episcopacy is an unjustifiable usurpation.*" It is even so. Whoever receives a *jure divino* Episcopacy, must of necessity swallow the doctrine of Apostolical succession, with all its falsehoods and absurdities. Whoever cannot swallow that doctrine, must of necessity throw the claims of Episcopacy away as an "unjustifiable usurpation."

It is not surprising to find the same charge, in which the "Bishop of Connecticut" advocates the doctrine of Apostolical succession, rejecting the "Bible alone" as the sole and sufficient standard of faith, and placing over it the interpretations of the Fathers, or of the Church. It is not surprising to find the right of private judgment treated, in the same charge, as one of "the errors of the times;" and the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration affirmed with all assurance. Pernicious doctrines, unlike other ravenous beasts of prey, are not wont to go solitary. Around the doctrine of Apostolical succession, these other false doctrines concerning the Rule of Faith, the right of private judgment, and Regeneration, cluster, as around their natural centre and sun.

In rejecting the idea that the Christian ministry is a propitiatory priesthood, we of necessity reject the doctrine of Apostolical succession. The contest comes inevitably on to the ground of the Reformation: the very identical battle-ground between the Reformation and Rome. Between the two schemes of justification by faith alone, and justification through the offices of a human priesthood, there can be no peace: and there never ought to be peace between them, while the truth, the rights of conscience, and the way of salvation, are things of any interest in the estimation of mankind.

ECONOMY OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Ordination. Headship of the Church. Episcopacy and Republicanism. Episcopacy in the American Revolution. Reproaches against the Puritans. The tables turned. Comparative tendencies of Puritanism and Prelacy. Conclusion.

HAVING disposed of the claims of the Bishops, and shown the falsity and essential Popery of the doctrine of the Apostolical succession, there are several other topics which call for a brief but distinct examination.

I. WHAT IS ORDINATION ?

Rejecting as we do the doctrine of Apostolical succession, as well as the ghostly character which the rite of ordination is supposed to impress upon him who receives it, it will probably be asked what we make of it. The answer is at hand.

Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to the work of the ministry. We no more hold that any person may take upon himself the office and work of the Christian ministry, than that he may take upon himself the office and work of a civil magistrate. But ordination no more impresses an internal character upon a man, than does an induction to a civil office.

We have already seen that in the appointment of Matthias to the Apostleship, and in the appointment of Deacons, the people were called to a popular election; and this seems to be recorded as a suitable precedent and warrant for a like manner of proceeding in cases of a similar nature. And election by popular suffrage happens to be the expression of the original, where it is said, "And when they *had ordained* them elders."

After the election there is an *induction to office*. A magistrate is to be sworn into office by an accredited magistrate; but the President of the United States may be inducted into office by any magistrate who may administer a lawful oath; by a justice of the peace, as well as by the Chief Justice of the nation. But it is not from the inducting officer that he receives the power with

which he is clothed; that comes from his *election*; though till he is regularly inducted he can exercise no power.

So, for the sake of order, one must ordinarily be inducted into the ministry by ministers. Hence, the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery;" and without this, it would be improper for one to take upon himself the functions of the Christian ministry.

If it be said that Christian ministers act for God, and therefore must receive their authority from him; it is granted. So the civil magistrate is the "minister of God;" and "the powers that be, are *ordained of God*;" but must they always be ordained by the instrumentality of superiors? Must they always receive their authority, not by the instrumentality of those below them, but by a regular transmitted succession from those originally set in office directly by the Divine hand? The sage maxim which some are so fond of harping on, viz. that "inferiors cannot ordain a superior," nor "give an office that they do not possess," is a mere sophism. The people, who have no office, elect their governors, and inferior magistrates induct them into office; yet the Governor of Connecticut and the President of the United States, are as much "*ordained of God*," and as much "God's ministers," as though they had been elected and inducted by Queen Victoria, or the Emperor Nicholas, or by any other of the so called "legitimate sovereigns," who can trace their gubernatorial *succession* clear back to Nero, to Nebuchadnezzar, or to Nimrod.

Although magistrates must ordinarily be ordained by magistrates, yet all people have a natural right of originating a civil government, and of course, originating ordinations of powers, as often as necessity requires. This was done when the Pilgrims subscribed their Constitution in the cabin of the Mayflower.

At the American Revolution the people acted on the same principle; they went not begging at the foot of European thrones for the grant of Rulers of the true legitimate succession; they originated their own magistracies, and their own laws. And though there is no power but of God, yet who questions that Washington, and the Trumbulls, were as much "*ordained of God*" as any ruler that ever bore the sword of authority; and that he who resisted the magistrates and laws so instituted, resisted "*the ordinance of God*."

Now, though for the sake of order, Christian ministers should be ordained through the instrumentality of Christian ministers, still Christ's people everywhere have a right, by Divine charter and command, to keep all his commandments, and to enjoy all his ordinances; and, as in the case of the Pilgrims, and of our fathers in the Revolution, when need requires, the right is inherent, and the duty is imperative, to *originate* those institutions and ordinations; and he who is thus duly ordained a minister

in Christ's Church, is as much the minister of God as the present magistrates in these United States. For example: when the persecuted disciples of Christ met and worshipped in secret, in the reign of bloody Mary, they had indeed a lawfully ordained minister, but had he been slain, they might lawfully, if need required, have appointed others. In fine, wherever the Gospel goes, without Bishops, or Church officers of any sort, it may, where need requires, *originate* true Churches, and valid ordinations. Christ's people have an ample charter for doing among themselves, whatever is essential to the observing of his ordinances and the keeping of his commands.

While we hold this theory, it is proper to observe that none of our ordinations were so originated in fact. The first ministers of the Puritan Churches, both in the Old world, and in the New, were regularly ordained and acknowledged ministers of Christ; and from that time our ministers have been regularly ordained by "the laying on of the hands" of the acknowledged "Presbytery."

Episcopacy rejects this view of ordination. In its view, ordination must impress a ghostly character, and come down from the Apostles by an official succession. Accordingly, at the Revolution, the Episcopalians in this country still remained in an abject dependence on the King of Great Britain and his Parliament; a dependence for that which is more than liberty, for the bread of life.

Unfortunately, the Bishops of England might not ordain any person to the Episcopate without the royal mandate for the election and consecration of a person nominated by the King as head of the Church: nor then, without requiring such person to take the oath of allegiance, and the oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Our American Episcopalians were in deep trouble. Civil independence was secured; but for dearer rights, they were still dependent on the will of a foreign king. After due supplication, and after much difficulty and delay, an act of Parliament was passed for the consecration of some American Bishops; but under the restriction, that the persons appointed should be acceptable to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and then obtain the royal license "by warrant under his royal signet and sign manual."*

* The following letter of Dr. Franklin, exhibits a common sense view of the matter.

To Messrs. Weems and Grant, Citizens of the United States, in London:

PARIS, 18th July, 1784.

Gentlemen—On receipt of your letter acquainting me that the Archbishop of Canterbury would not permit you to be ordained unless you took the oath of allegiance, I applied to a clergyman of my acquaintance for information on the subject of your obtaining ordination here. His opinion was, that it could not be done; and

In our view, this begging for the succession at the hands of a British king and Parliament, was the fruit of a grievous and humiliating superstition. It was just as childish and absurd as it would have been for the people, after their successful Revolution, to go and beg the King to give to his revolted colonies, *rulers* of the true legitimate succession, under the notion that without such a succession from the *order of Kings*, there could not be a *state*; and that without this *virtue* flowing down through a *kingly succession*, there could be no magistrates "ordained of God." *Jure divino* Episcopalians ought, in all reason, to be *jure divino* Legitimists. And he who should begin to charge all our governors and magistrates as usurpers, declaring that the people

that if it were done, you would be required to vow obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. I next inquired of the Pope's Nuncio whether you might not be ordained by the Bishop of America, powers being sent him for the purpose—if he has them not already. The answer was, the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Catholics. This is an affair of which I know but very little, and therefore I may ask questions and propose means that are improper or impracticable. But what is the necessity of your being connected with the Church of England? Would it not do as well, if you were of the Church of Ireland? The religion is the same, though there is a different set of Bishops and Archbishops. Perhaps if you were to apply to the Bishop of Derry, who is a man of liberal sentiments, he might give you orders, as of that Church. If both Britain and Ireland refuse you, (and I am not sure that the Bishop of Denmark or Sweden would ordain you unless you became Lutherans), what is then to be done? Next to becoming Presbyterians, the Episcopalian clergy of America, in my humble opinion, cannot do better than to follow the example of the first clergy in Scotland soon after the conversion of that country to Christianity, when their king had built the Cathedral of St. Andrews, and requested the king of Northumberland to lend his Bishops to ordain one of them, that their clergy might not, as heretofore, be obliged to go to Northumberland for orders; and their request was refused. They assembled in the Cathedral, and the mitre, crozier, and robes of a Bishop being laid upon the altar, they, after earnest prayers for direction in their choice, elected one of their own number, when the king said to him, "*Arise, go to the Altar, and receive your office at the hand of God.*" His brethren led him to the altar, robed him, put the crozier in his hand, and he became the first Bishop of Scotland.

If the British Islands were sunk in the sea (and the surface of the globe has suffered greater changes), you would probably take some such method as this; and if they persist in denying your ordination, it is the same thing. A hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it, till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury, who seems by your account to have as little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland, as King William's attorney, general Seymour, had for those of Virginia. The Reverend Commissary Blair, who projected the College of that province, and was in England to solicit benefactions and a charter, relates that the Queen, in the King's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter, which was to be given with £2000 in money, he opposed the grant, saying that the Nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and he did not see the least occasion for a College in Virginia. Blair represented to him that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the Gospel, much wanted there, and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as those of England. "*Souls*" said he, "*—your souls — make Tobacco.*"

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

—under penalty of the divine displeasure—must abandon their present rulers, and submit to exactors and officers deriving their legitimate gubernatorial virtue through some lineal successor of Nimrod or Nebuchadnezzar, would not be guilty of a more ridiculous fanaticism than those are, who gravely maintain that there cannot be “a Church without a Bishop”—of the true Apostolical succession.

II. HEADSHIP OF THE CHURCH.

Late Episcopal works largely and frequently insist that non-Episcopal sects are without a visible headship. To this and kindred objections, we answer :

1. That the ends of Church government are few and simple. They are simply to observe Christ's ordinances, and to promote the spiritual edification of his members. If any turn heretics or walk disorderly and cannot be reclaimed, the congregation of Christians to which they belong, may cast them out of their society. The public worship of God and the enjoyment of his ordinances, require nothing beyond a single congregation. This is all the law-making and government for which the Lord Jesus Christ has made provision. These Churches may *associate* for mutual counsel, edification and security ; but no universal or provincial *legislature* is needed over these Churches. Christ established none. No new laws are to be made ; no canons are to be framed or enforced beyond the Word of God.

2. All further headship is not only unauthorized, but it has proved the source of nearly all the persecutions, superstitions, and corruptions that have infested and distracted the Church of Christ. Had there been no Prelatical power, how early and how surely would the Reformation have been accomplished ? Had there been no Henry VIII., or Mary, or Elizabeth, or Bonner, or Gardiner, to lord it over the consciences of men, how rapidly would the Reformation have chased away all Popish darkness from England ? And with all the power and energy of earthly heads and Prelates, in spite of all their dungeons and faggots, how hard the usurping Prelates found it, to keep the *people* down ? Had not Prelacy suppressed the rising Reformation in Italy, in Spain, in France, and in Austria, how would those benighted nations, long ere this, have rejoiced in the light and freedom of the children of God ? Prelacy has ever been, as a system, hostile to religious freedom, and hostile to Gospel truth. And therefore, and the more, since Christ did not establish, but forbade the assumption of Prelatical power, we admit no earthly head over the Churches of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

3. The ends and powers of Church government being so

simple, and Christ not only having given no legislative authority, but having denounced a wo upon those who shall add to the things written in his Book, we acknowledge the BIBLE as the only AUTHORITATIVE statute book over the Church.

But turn to the Prelatical scheme. Look at its Diocesan, and its National Canons. For ages it was much as any strong-minded man could attain in a life time, to make himself master of the science of canon law. The Episcopal Church in this country is yet in its infancy; and taking advantage of our civil Revolution, and of some important lessons which both Congregational and Presbyterian Republicanism had taught her, she shook off at once, a mountain load of incumbrances, which yet burden the Episcopal establishments of Europe. But let any one take up the work of Dr. Hawkes on the Constitutions and Canons, and he will be struck with the immense amount of tinkering already expended in mending, and altering, and simplifying, and correcting, the canons of that infant Church. Even Dr. Hawkes confessedly staggers under the load. He apologizes for his inability to fix the meaning and to settle the conflicts of these respective sets of canons. Like a pioneer in a tangled wilderness, he says of his work: "*It may make a road in the wilderness, which, though rough, will not be useless to future travellers.*" There are Diocesan Canons, and National Canons. Some Bishops have an absolute veto upon the enactment of canons in their territories; others have not. "Primitive Bishops," says Dr. Hawkes, "knew but little of Conventions like ours." And with all this lumber of canons, Dr. Hawkes complains that, "in the Church," they have "no judicial system;" "Uniformity in *judicial proceedings* is wanting." "But there is a greater evil in the want of uniformity of *interpretations*." He applies the maxim, "*Misera est servitas ubi jus est vagum aut incertum.*" [It is a miserable slavery where the law is either vague or uncertain.] And he shows that such is the state of their Canon law, that the actual interpretation of their Canons makes the law one thing in Massachusetts, and another thing in South Carolina. "In vain," says he, "*will any one ask, what is the law? Nowhere in the Church is there any tribunal competent to adjust these conflicting interpretations.*" He shows that there is no relief, either in a General Convention, or in the House of Bishops; that this is a question "practically of great difficulty;" that they need something like a Supreme Court; and protests that the members of that court ought to be selected for their *fitness*, and that this work cannot safely be entrusted, *ex-officio*, "to the Bishops."

How long will it be ere our Episcopal brethren will need, like the Papists, *doctors* of Canon law? So cumbersome has the

scheme already become, in consequence of departing from the simplicity of Christ!

But the mischief of having NO HEAD! Is Protestant Episcopacy free from this difficulty? The Pope will tell them, No. With a general government, and National laws, they have no National court, and no National head. Even the house of Bishops, the very apex of the system, has borrowed from Congregationalism its simple moderator. What is the *one* indivisible Catholic Church on their plan? A huge disjointed body without a *head*; not even a *Cerberus* with *three* heads, nor yet a *hydra* with *fifty*, but a body covered all over with some thousand *headlings*, over which there is no real head! Why, truly, on this argument, our Episcopal brethren should either resort to Queen Victoria, or to the Pope, to assume the headship over them; or else they should forthwith meet and create a Metropolitan, or Archbishop, or a Patriarch.

III. EPISCOPACY AND REPUBLICANISM.

It is further claimed, that Episcopacy bears the strongest resemblance to, and is most in accordance with, our Republican Institutions. The House of Bishops is compared to the United States Senate, and the several Bishops, to the governors of the several States; then there are lay delegates, and vestrymen, deriving their authority from popular elections.

It is true, that those who see Prelacy in this country, see it greatly modified by our republican institutions. But this is the only country on earth, where Prelacy admits of any such thing as popular rights. Dr. Hawkes has recorded what strenuous efforts were made, by Bishop Seabury, against admitting any popular element into the government of the Church. That distinguished Prelate "disapproved of committing the general concerns of the American Church to any other than Bishops," and considered the introduction of the Laity as "*incongruous to every idea of Episcopal government.*" Such, in theory, is the doctrine of High-Churchmen: the laity hold their privileges as *liberties*, not as *rights*: mere concession, held by *sufferance* of the Bishops.

But let us look a little into the actual system. I will venture to ask what sort of resemblance to our Republican institutions, a system of government would bear, if framed on the following principles:

(1.) Give to each state a Governor for life, to be removed only on an impeachment before a house of Governors for life. Let him hold his authority not from the people, but by Divine right, having received a gubernatorial *grace* and *character* from the sole gubernatorial succession.

Let him hold a veto upon every appointment of judge or justice. Give the franchises of every citizen into this man's hands alone, that by his single sentence he may excommunicate every man from all rights and privileges as a citizen, and render any man incapable of holding any office, or of acting in any primary election.

Give him power to pack a court of such justices as he may select, to try, depose, or degrade any officer in the state whom he may order to appear before that tribunal.

(2.) Bring these perpetual Governors into a perpetual Senate, with an absolute veto upon everything proposed by the Representatives of the people:—Give all executive authority into their hands:—Let there be no Independent Judiciary,—no Supreme Court;—but let these perpetual Governors, these perpetual members of a perpetual Senate; these members of an exclusive Executive department, be also the sole expounders of the law, over the wholeland, in their associate capacity,—and each the supreme *judge* as well as sole Governor in his own domain.

Such is the draft of a system of Civil Polity, which should be a parallel to our American Episcopacy. How does it compare with the institutions of our American Republic? There is no resemblance. A more miserable oligarchy never existed on the earth, than such a scheme would be, if its analogy were faithfully carried out in the form of civil government. What dolts does Dr. Hawkes take the American people to be, that he presumes so complacently to claim a close and essential resemblance, between the Episcopal scheme and our Republican government?

IV. EPISCOPACY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

But let us pass to another extraordinary claim put forth by Episcopal writers.

The Tract, "Why I am a Churchman," "calls attention" to another fact showing the Republican spirit and tendencies of Episcopacy:—Washington, Jay, Madison, Marshall, and others, were Episcopalians.

Is not this a strange sort of logic, to argue from a few isolated facts—altogether exceptions to the state of the facts in general—the general tendencies of any particular scheme? La Fayette, Montgomery, Steuben, Pulaski, and De Kalb, are said to have been Roman Catholics. Is Popery, therefore, the friend of freedom? Shall the exception of these great and honorable names weigh down the dismal conclusions to be drawn from the present state, and the past history of Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Austria, for so many hundred years? Washington was an Episcopalian. So be it. We venerate him none the less. He was less an Episcopalian than a Christian. Washington was no High

Churchman; he communed at the Lord's table with Presbyterians. His religion, as well as his patriotism, rose above the narrow limits of High Church Episcopacy. It is an outrage upon his memory, it is a libel upon his principles to use that hallowed name to gild the low superstition of modern Puseyism. Was Washington an Episcopalian? So the revolutionary General *Greene* was bred a Quaker; and Quaker, it is said, he remained, till the battle of Lexington set his patriotic soul on fire. But is the tendency of Quakerism, therefore, warlike?

Washington, and Greene, and Jay, and Madison, and La Fayette, and Pulaski, and De Kalb, would all have stood among the staunchest of the Puritans, had they existed in their day. It is impossible that such men should ever have entered into the tyrannical principles of Strafford, or have sided with the persecuting measures and low superstitions of Archbishop Laud.

But since our "*attention*" is so earnestly invited to this topic, let us look away from a few incidental cases, to the wide array of facts which more accurately show the spirit and tendencies of the system. And, as if so long a history, from Henry VIII. to Queen Anne, were not sufficient to determine this point, let us look to that field to which our attention is specially called, the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

It had long been the avowed expectation and design of Episcopalians in this country, that Diocesan Bishops should be placed over the whole land. Had Bishops been so appointed, they would not have been like the present American Diocesans, shorn of all civil prerogatives, and limited in powers to their own denomination. They would have been possessed of powers belonging to British Bishops by common law. Already had the Archbishop of Canterbury taken it upon himself, as the prerogative of his See, to appoint Notaries Public in Puritan New England. In New York the marriage licenses were stamped with the *mitre*, in recognition of the Bishop's claim to legal authority over causes matrimonial. The Governor of New Jersey held the Archbishop's formal commission to act *for him* in matrimonial and testamentary affairs. An active correspondence was going on between Episcopalians here and the authorities in Great Britain, for setting up Bishops over the whole land, with authority over all the inhabitants. John Adams declared (and no man better knew) that this was one of the principal causes that originated the Revolution. Our fathers dreaded and feared such an event; and had reason to suppose that they saw it approaching. In this very town,* was one of the conventions of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, of New England and the Middle Colonies, held (which conventions were continued for several

* Norwalk

years previous to the Revolution), for guarding against and defeating the wily schemes of Prelatists, for setting up Bishops over the American people.* Such was the state of things before the American Revolution.

And when the conflict came, where was every Congregational and Presbyterian minister in the land? At his post, embarking everything for liberty. But where was Episcopacy then? I love not to tear open old wounds; I surely would never have adverted to these things, had not Episcopacy been so forward of late, to make these preposterous claims. Where then were the Episcopal clergy of this land? There were, indeed, honorable exceptions, but what was the general fact?

Most of their churches throughout the country were closed. They had no liturgy to pray for their country; and without the authority of the Lord Bishop of London, they might not indite such a prayer. They could not canonically worship without praying for the success of the tyrant king, and his more tyrannical ministry. BISHOP HOBART, who lived too early for these new claims of Episcopacy, gives the following statement concerning those times: "Many of her clergy were attached in principle to the Church and monarchy of Great Britain; and not caring to effect a separation from her, abandoned their cures, and returned for refuge to what till then had been termed the mother country." Ask the aged people on these shores, who were the most dreaded foes of freedom here? Who were the guides of their enemies, in their nightly incursions for plunder and rapine? Who stole upon their dwellings, to seize the husbands, or fathers, or sons, and to carry them off to the jails and prison-ships, many of them never to return? Who ambushed the sanctuary on the Sabbath, and with bayonets invaded the house of God, to seize upon the unarmed worshippers?† The answer will declare the actual influence of the Prelatical system, in the days that tried men's souls.

I say not these things to make those who hold to the Prelatic scheme in these days responsible for the deeds of their predecessors, but simply to meet the issue which Episcopacy has herself been the first to raise and urge. Had that system been generally received in that day, the American Revolution could not have taken place. Had that system possessed adequate strength in New England, the great contest would have proved unsuccessful,

* The Journal of these Conventions has been published by order of the General Association of Connecticut, and is a most interesting document of those stirring times.

† The congregation at Darien was surrounded, while engaged in public worship Dr. Mather was dragged from the pulpit, and with the men of his congregation carried off into captivity. The day that saw the town of Norwalk laid in ashes, saw also the Rector of St. Paul's retiring with the marauders to the British fleet.

and the sun of our country's hope would have gone down in a long and dreary night.

The truth is, that Prelacy, as a system, is naturally, and ever has been, hostile to civil liberty. The principles of Puritanism, and of civil liberty, rose and flourished together. The doctrine of the Divine right of Bishops has ever been, and by nature must ever be, the ally of despotism. After a contest scarcely remitted for three hundred years, in which Prelacy strained every nerve to put the principles of civil and religious freedom down, she now coolly turns about and claims that *she*, above all others, is the best friend of civil and religious liberty.

V. REPROACHES AGAINST THE PURITANS.

Let us proceed to a still more common and favorite claim upon which Episcopacy is wont to vaunt itself. I refer to those reproaches, which are, in some quarters, perpetually cast upon the Puritan founders of New England, and upon their principles, viz. their austerity, bigotry, "Blue Laws," persecution of the Quakers and Baptists, "hanging witches," and things of that sort.

Our Puritan Fathers were men. We freely confess, and lament, that they fell into some grievous errors, which, however, were not so peculiarly theirs, as the common errors of the times. Witches were hung at that day in Old England as well as in the New. If the Puritan inhabitants of New England did this, so did the great and good Sir Matthew Hale; yet the annals of human judiciaries know no purer name.

Why do not those who insist upon these mournful errors, sometimes have the candor to say, that in this, not only did the Puritans err in common with the whole civilized world, but also to tell how large a minority of the magistrates and people of New England, grieved and were indignant at these things, at the time; how soon the magistracy themselves corrected their errors; how ingenuously they confessed, and how bitterly they mourned over these temporary delusions? Where else in the wide world was such an *amende* so speedily and so honorably given to right reason, and to truth?

The Puritans had some erroneous laws, which, in some instances, they put in execution. Yet even then, their code was liberal and tolerant beyond anything that had ever been known in Old England. All their persecutions were as a drop in the ocean compared with those carried on at the same period, and long after, in their Father-land. It was a brief evil, soon corrected, and bitterly repented. A bare majority for a time carried these unhappy measures. Sorrow and indignation filled the hearts of

an almost equal minority, till the good sense and better feelings of the people prevailed.

In one respect I am not sorry that such a soot and blackness should appear for a season upon the escutcheon of Puritanism, so recently borne out from the smoke and darkness of ancient systems of intolerance and abuse. It afforded an opportunity to show how soon the principles of Puritanism could purge that blackness off. The Old World has not yet seen an example of a single denomination holding an absolute and controlling power, and yet correcting her own errors by an entire toleration of foreign hostile sects. The nearest approach ever made to this in Old England, was under Cromwell, and during the ascendancy of the Independents. That is a glory to which the Church of England has never yet had the honor to attain.

But how early did liberal views and measures prevail among the Puritans of New England? Take some examples and proofs. The first Episcopal Church in Connecticut was established in 1723. It was only four years from this period, before a law of the colony provided, that whatever tax should be paid for the support of religion by any person belonging to, and worshipping with an Episcopal Church, it should be paid over to the clergyman of the Church of England, upon whose ministry such person should attend. Those who conformed to the Church of England, were authorized to tax themselves for the support of their clergy, and were excused from all taxes for building meeting-houses, and for other purposes of the Churches of the prevailing denomination.

In 1729, the Quakers, a very few of whom lived in the parts adjacent to Rhode Island, were, by law, exempted from paying taxes for the support of Congregational ministers, and for building meeting-houses. In the same year, the Baptists, who had two small congregations in the county of New London, received the same indulgence. At this time there were in Connecticut but two or three congregations of Episcopalians, and two of Baptists; all of which were small; and no congregation of Quakers in the colony.*

This relaxation in the laws, made so soon after dissent assumed a regular form, and probably on its first application to the Legislature for relief, shows that there prevailed in Connecticut, at the time, no serious disposition to persecute or oppress the people of other denominations.

Is it replied, that they erred in making any ecclesiastical establishment at all: and that there should have been an entire equality of all denominations? Granted; that is undoubtedly the only correct system. But that principle was not at

* Professor Kingsley's Historical Discourse, p. 95.

that period understood. It was yet to be brought forth, as the legitimate deduction from the great Puritan principle, that to every man belongs the right of entire freedom to worship God, according to his own conscience; a principle which the Church of England, which still demands her tithes of all Dissenters, and still presses them down by numerous and intolerable disabilities—has yet to learn; a right, which she has yet to yield, or it will ere long be wrested from her unwilling hands.

VI. THE TABLES TURNED.

And now, since the bigotry and intolerance of the Puritans is so much insisted on, suppose we turn the tables, and inquire whether AMERICAN PRELACY, where she had the POWER, *was more tolerant*.

Episcopacy was originally established by law in the colony of Virginia. In 1618, a law was enacted there, that "every person should go to church on Sundays and Holy Days, or lie neck and heels that night, and be a slave to the colony the following week." For the second offence, he was to be a slave for a month; and for the third offence, a year and a day.*

In 1642, a law was passed forbidding any other than an Episcopal minister to officiate in the colony.

"The established clergy," says Dr. Miller (*Life of Rodgers*, p. 31), "were many of them notoriously profligate in their lives; and very few among them preached, or appeared to understand the Gospel of Christ." A revival of religion broke out in Hanover and the adjoining counties, from the perusal of some religious books; one of which was Boston's *Fourfold State*. People found the Gospel to be a different thing from that which was taught in the pulpits of the establishment. Many were awakened and converted. This was between A. D. 1730 and 1740. The people continued to meet and to read books and printed sermons. At length, private houses became too small, and they erected a house for their accommodation. The vengeance of the established Church fell upon them, in the shape of fines, and whatever other molestations the laws gave power to inflict.

This was the origin of Presbyterianism in Virginia. In 1743, these inquiring people sent for Mr. Robinson, a Presbyterian Evangelist. Multitudes began to inquire, What must we do to be saved? Other preachers succeeded Mr. Robinson: but the established Church was now aroused. The celebrated Messrs. *Tennent and Finley*, obtaining license of the Governor, began to preach to those inquirers in 1745. A proclamation was some time after set up about the meeting-house on a Lord's day, strictly requiring all magistrates to suppress and prohibit all itinerant

* Miller's *Life of Dr. Rodgers*.

preachers. The celebrated President *Davies* preached to the same people, having obtained the Governor's license for himself and four meeting-houses. But this good nature on the part of the governor, met with a prompt and stern rebuke. With great difficulty he prevailed on the court not to revoke the license of *Davies*, and send him out of the colony. The venerable *John Rodgers*, afterwards of New York, was forbidden to preach in Virginia, "under penalty of £500, and a year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize." And all this was not so very long ago; for Dr. *Rodgers* died so recently as 1811.

The exclusive spirit of Episcopacy reigned triumphant in New York down to the very close of the Revolution. Some Presbyterians in Jamaica, had erected a commodious house of worship, and procured a handsome parsonage and glebe, which they had held some years previous to 1702. A few Episcopalians having settled in the town, considering the Presbyterians defenceless by law, seized the church, between a morning and afternoon service, and endeavored to hold it for their own sect. Lord Cornbury, the governor, retiring that year from New York, on account of a malignant fever, was courteously granted the use of the parsonage: but when he returned to New York he delivered it into the hands of the Episcopalians, who deemed it not dishonorable to receive it.*

The first Presbyterian minister who preached in the city of New York, in a private house, and baptized a child on that occasion, was pursued to Newtown, and led a prisoner in triumph, by a circuitous route, through Jamaica, and committed to prison in New York. Nor was he suffered to depart till there had been extorted from him a sum equal to all the fees and expenses of his prosecution; amounting to between two and three hundred dollars.

After a Presbyterian Church had been organized in New York, "for the greater part of a century they were compelled, besides supporting their own Church, to contribute their quota toward the support of the Episcopal Church, already enriched by governmental favor."†

While these governmental benefactions were laying the foundation of the present enormous wealth of Trinity Church, the Presbyterians suffered under every discouragement which the ruling powers could interpose. In 1719, the first Presbyterian Church in New York was erected, in no small share by public collections taken up in the colony of Connecticut and in Scotland. The direct and strenuous efforts of the vestry of Trinity Church, defeated their repeated applications for a charter. The Presbyterian Church, thus holding their edifice by an uncertain tenure,

* *Miller's Life of John Rodgers.*

† *Ibid.*

were compelled for a series of years, in order to secure it, to cause the title to be conveyed to the moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Suffering under other legal disabilities, they again applied for a charter in 1759, and were again opposed and defeated by the strenuous opposition of the Episcopal Church. In 1774, and 1775, they laid their embarrassments, with their complaint and petition, at the foot of the throne. A charter was drawn, and passed the Council: but on this side of the water, the influence which had opposed, now withheld the gift of the sovereign.

Thus, up to the very year of the Revolution, was this intolerance exercised by Prelacy in New York, till that Revolution came and broke the sceptre of her power for ever. Such was Puritanism, and such was Prelacy, with regard to the matter of toleration in the provinces, where, for a season, each held the controlling power; the first voluntarily and promptly correcting her errors, and granting all other denominations every privilege, consistent with the views of religious establishments, unfortunately everywhere prevalent at that day; the last, grasping the sceptre with an iron hand, yielding nothing, holding on to the last gasp, till the resistless tide of revolution sweeps away her sceptre and her throne together.

Even now, look at England; where half her people who regularly attend the public worship of God, worship in the ranks of the Dissenters; possessing such toleration as has been, from time to time, wrung from the hand of power, yet still laboring under every obloquy and discouragement, which the established Church is able to cast upon them, and which the times allow; and in addition to their own burdens, compelled to pay tithes for the support of that very Church-establishment, which spares no effort to crush them to the dust.

And yet the vision of some people can look over all these things, to fasten upon the few transient errors of their own Puritan Fathers! And there are sons of New England, whose dearest privileges are owing, under God, entirely to the faith and toil, and indescribable sufferings of their fathers; who yet seem to delight in hearing the names and principles of those fathers mentioned with reproach! The principles of freedom which those fathers struck out and maintained, the mighty benefits which have resulted from their labors to their posterity, and to the world; the forecast and virtue which laid the foundations of everything peculiar in our American institutions, and which have made this American people the freest and happiest of all nations, since the foundation of the earth; all these things go for nothing in the estimation of these misguided and degenerate sons! They direct their vision, as if to some little spots on the glorious sun, and

tell how that sun disfigures the Heavens, and how glorious the Heavens would be if that dismal sun were not there. They dwell upon some idle gossip, some stale slander, a thousand times refuted. They talk about that mass of impudent forgeries so often set forth, and so extensively believed, the "Connecticut Blue Laws;" just as though the code set forth under that name had once had a real existence, as a part of the Connecticut laws. The wonder is that the very name of Blue Laws does not blister the tongue of every Prelatist, when he remembers the origin of that lying history, in which the code of Blue Laws had their first introduction to the world.

VII. COMPARATIVE TENDENCIES OF PURITANISM AND PRELACY.

But we scarcely need history to determine the respective fruits of Prelacy and Puritanism. These fruits must inevitably result from the *nature* of the two systems. On the one side, a *hierarchy*, claiming a monopoly of all the covenanted mercies of God; a divine right to rule over all people who bear allegiance to Christ; asserting their authority to make Canons, and devise ceremonies, and to impose the same by law, upon all Christ's people; forbidding all congregations of Christians to offer a prayer in public, save according to a prescribed liturgy; charging all Christians, who question their authority, and refuse to conform to their ordinances, as schismatics and dissenters, and denouncing all their ministers as sons of Korah, with whom it is unlawful for a true Christian to hold communion in divine ordinances, or to join in public worship. What toleration can result from these principles as their natural fruit? What toleration did they yield our fathers for years before they fled to these then desolate shores? What are their fruits in Old England to the present day? What in Italy? In Spain? or anywhere else in the wide world?

On the other hand, what is the Puritan principle? The divine right and duty of every man to go to the Word of God for himself; the Word of God the sole standard of faith, order, and duty; the divine right of every Christian community orderly to associate together in congregations for the observance of the worship and ordinances of God, with no power anywhere on earth to prescribe to them the manner of their worship, or to over-

* The system has courage to *speak out* in Canada. The present Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Toronto says in his Charge: "In all the British colonies, we [the Episcopal clergy] are *alone* entitled, as holding the divine commission, to be their [the dissenters] teachers, guides, and directors in divine things. Nor does it alter the matter that they refuse obedience and resist our authority. The right is not less; nor can we without sin neglect to exercise it, whenever it can be done with any prospect of success." What Pope; what minion of the Bloody Bonner ever carried the *theory* of divine right to persecute farther than this?

rule their own judgment and conscience ; a liberty claimed, and a liberty allowed, to every man and to every congregation of men ; a liberty which none can deny, with which none can interfere, without infringing upon the great charter granted by the Almighty to all his people, and without, at the same time, impiously usurping the prerogatives of Heaven.

Is this a system of superstition, of bigotry, of persecution, of intolerance ? The farthest from it possible. The discoverers of this simple but sublime system of religious rights, were—more than the Newtons—the benefactors of the world. Like the great laws of nature, this law is beautiful in its simplicity, and awful in its grandeur. Its first discoverers might not have comprehended, at once, all its length and breadth : they may, in particular instances, have greatly erred from its precepts ; but the principle remains. It will continue to shed abroad its richer benefits the more it is understood, and the better it is obeyed. It will gradually purge away the mists and defilements of error. The present entire equality of all sects of worshippers, which characterizes our American Institutions, was as sure to result from these principles, as the sun is to break through the shadows of a misty morning.

But from the opposite, the prelatical principle, what can come ? It cannot allow men freedom to worship God. It trusts not its own children, but seeks to *bind* them by the authority of Canons, and to *fence them in* by Liturgies and prescribed ceremonies ; and then talks about the misery of the poor people left with the Bible and their own conscience alone, without the benefit of such authoritative fences and canons ! What *can* come from this system ? What *has* come of it ? Too well have we seen, as we have traced its course in the history of hundreds of years.

Leave the soul of man and the mind of man free. Let him be responsible for his faith only to God. Persecution is at an end. Bigotry expires. If religious principle, and a regard to his eternal interests, cannot keep him to the truth, it is in vain to keep him in—like a being to whom reason and conscience are both an incumbrance—by prelatical prerogatives, fences, liturgies, and ceremonial forms.

That the Puritanic principle is the principle of reason and of the Word of God, we entertain no shadow of doubt ; and therefore we trust, in entire confidence, that as the advancing kingdom of Christ brings the souls of men to a clearer perception of their responsibilities and rights, the Puritan principle is destined to prevail. That the despotism of the Greek and Roman Hierarchies over so large a portion of Christendom, is destined to decline, what Protestant can doubt, who believes that the light and freedom of the Gospel are one day to fill the world ? As little ought it to be doubted, that the very *root* of these despotisms, the su

perstition of a Christian *Priesthood*, and of authority derived from *Apostolical succession*, and all the powers claimed by a *hierarchy* to frame rites, and ceremonies, and canons, and to impose the same upon God's people, are destined to vanish away. That Prelacy may live and flourish for a time, no one ought to doubt, who looks at the causes that contribute to its support. The religion of priestly interventions, of ceremonies and forms, of grace conferred by rituals, is the religion of human nature. People who want the benefits of religion on terms requiring little heart-work and little self-denial; who wish for nothing that presses heavily on the conscience, or that forbids a good degree of conformity to the world, will always exhibit a tendency to fall in with a religion essentially of the Prelatic cast. Such a religion will of course be the religion of the fashionable and the gay, the worldly, and the ambitious. Even the absurdities, the superstitions, and the abominations of Popery, do not prevent its holding an almost unbroken sway, over a large portion of the cultivated intellect of the earth. Archbishop Whately has a work characterized by his usual vigor and discrimination, entitled, "The errors of Romanism traced to their source in human nature;" in which he shows that monstrous scheme to be the result, not so much of the imposture of a designing priesthood, as of a sin-loving, God-hating, human nature; its dislike of a spiritual religion, and its natural tendency to resort to priestly offices, as an easier mode of salvation; less troublesome to the conscience, less irksome to a heart that loves the indulgence of sin, than the spiritual religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is but natural, that wherever the absurdities of Popery are seen to be too monstrous, the same corrupt human nature should seek a religion of the same species, but a religion more decent in some of its details. Such is the system of Puseyism, and the system of High Church Prelacy; and he who reads the work of Archbishop Whately, will be at no loss to account for the rapidity with which Puseyism has swept over so large a portion of the Episcopal Church. The same causes will doubtless continue to swell the ranks of the votaries of that system. Argument and light have little intrinsic power, where men by nature love darkness rather than light. The Evangelical party have the Gospel on their side; Puseyism has human nature and the offices of the Church. While human nature remains corrupt, its instinctive tendencies are either wholly to reject the Gospel, or to deny its eternal retributions, or to contrive a religion of forms and priestly interventions; and he will find himself mistaken, who thinks that because this last scheme is based on palpable error, it will not, therefore, long contrive to have its votaries. So long as men continue careless, such a religion will be popular; but when the

Spirit of God descends in his might, to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment to come, then men will flee from these refuges of lies, and earnestly inquire what they shall do to be saved. The religion of salvation by priestly interventions is destined finally to vanish away; and light, and liberty, and salvation, to fill the earth.

To the advancement of pure religious truth, as well as of just principles of freedom, the labors of the Puritans have, next to the Reformation, contributed more than anything else since the labors of the Apostles. Their labors are destined to form one of the great eras in the history of man.

CONCLUSION.

And now our work is done. We have seen our fathers in their conflicts; we have visited them in their prisons; we have traced them in their wanderings, and come with them to their first rude dwellings in the wilderness. We have looked at the foundations rising under their hands. In two hundred years, the wilderness is converted into a fair and fruitful field. In all time, the sun never before shone on a people so free, and blessed so abundantly with all the elements of human happiness. Save for the principles which our Puritan fathers maintained at every hazard and every sacrifice, all these fair fruits of freedom and of religion would never have been.

We have shown these principles of the Puritans to be based on fundamental truths—truths which are eternal in their nature, and which can never cease to be of unspeakable importance to the best interests of mankind.

These were the principles of men who feared God: the principles of sober, intelligent, and steadfast men: and by successive generations of such men, and such alone, are these principles to be perpetuated in the world. The time is coming when the principles and institutions of our Puritan fathers will be appreciated in this land, and when their influence will be felt all over the globe. We are quite willing to point to their results in New England, and to ask whether it would be any loss to mankind, should such principles and institutions be extended throughout the world.

We owe something to these principles. We owe everlasting thanks to God, that he has made us the descendants of such ancestors, and allowed us to enter into their labors. May it never be said that we forsook the principles of our fathers, or our fathers' God. They would be the first of all to rise up and condemn us, if, pretending to prize their principles, we should fail in that which was the main end and crown of all their in-

stitutions—piety to God, and a living, fruitful, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

The conflict of human opinions and human principles will soon be over. All human institutions, and all human tabernacles of worship, are soon to vanish away. If our privileges and institutions contribute to our salvation, and to make us meet for the inheritance of the saints in light, this is the fruit most of all to be desired. May God make them such to us, and preserve them to our children and to our children's children, to the end of time.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE WORK.

But on reading the book, what did I find? A manful discussion of the great principles for which the Puritans contended? A denial of the persecutions inflicted upon them by the government and Church of England? A vindication of the principles on which the Church of England claimed a right to persecute; i. e., to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and to impose the same by law? Nothing like it. He wanders over the whole history, as if utterly unconscious that any principles at all are at stake. He roams over those most stirring times of the whole range of English history,—the period more prodigal in genius, in intellectual and moral greatness, more pregnant with great events, and more productive of great and glorious results, more fruitful in instructive lessons of history, than any other period in the whole uninspired history of man. But what lessons of truth; what maxims of political wisdom; what principles of civil or religious freedom, does he bring forth to light? Just none at all. He is all unconscious of the great events transpiring around him. He is unable to comprehend the tremendous results depending—of freedom or of despotism, of truth or superstition, of light or of darkness,—to the English nation, and through them, to so large a portion of the family of man. He cannot see what makes these times stormy. He cannot comprehend what has wakened up so many minds to such prodigious efforts of genius; and what has roused them to such dauntless courage, and self-sacrificing endurance. Oh, no; he cannot comprehend it: in his view, this is all wilfulness, or money-making, or at the utmost, a mere squabble for political power. He goes through the field, as has been well expressed, “*mousing*” after the faults, or follies, or inconsistencies of the great actors in those events; and he can see nothing else.

DESIGN OF THE WORK.

But I forget: it was to the work of mousing, that he was specially called by the Bishops and clergy; who it seems had known their man. It was not to discuss any great principles; not to act the part of a fair and generous historian, that “*The Church*” had called the Dr. into the field: Oh, no, but in his own account of the matter,—“*to tell unwelcome truths concerning our opponents*”—“*in defence of the Church.*” So then, it is not history, no, nor discussion, that the Bishops and clergy ask of Dr. Coit; but to rake in these old kennels, and throw filth; to blacken the characters (not controvert the principles) of the Puritan founders of New England!* Dr. Coit himself,

* “Years ago, says Dr. Coit (p. 276), “I awakened the apprehension of some of my fellow-churchmen, lest I should tell too much *for* my brethren, and too much *against* their enemies.” * * * “Doubtless, those who are undeservedly tender of Puritan reputation, would have these sketches inscribed on silken velvet. Fraternal condolence! verily it will have its reward. Its commiserated objects will grasp any concession with characteristic avidity, trample it under their feet, and turning again rend the giver. I know the mode of requital by melancholy experience.” * * * “I am under small obligations to extenuate,” * * * “I would much rather give my ‘two mites’ unalloyed into the treasury of their praise, who toiled

APPENDIX.

“PURITANISM, BY T. W. COIT.”

JUST before this work was ready for the press, there appeared a work entitled “PURITANISM, OR, A CHURCHMAN’S DEFENCE AGAINST ITS ASPERSIONS. BY THOMAS W. COIT, D.D., *Rector of Trinity Church, New Rochelle, N. Y., and a member of the New York Historical Society.*”

As in duty bound, I hastened to procure the work, that I might avail myself of whatever additional light it might throw upon the subject.

The honorary titles appended to the name of the author of the work (“D.D., Member of the New York Historical Society”) led me to expect something. I turned to its (what shall I call it?) Ante-Preface; in which, in a quotation from Mather, the author anticipates the “furious tempest,—a tempest of rain, hail, and horrid thunder-claps,” which his work is about to raise. Well, thought I, the good man expects, at the least, to make a noise in the world.

ORIGIN OF THE WORK.

I turned to the Preface, in which I found that the work was prepared at the special call of “several of the Bishops, and a large number of the Clergy,” and that this was “not the first, nor the twentieth time, that he had been approached on the subject.” It seems that the author had tried his hand at the same sort of labor, ten years before, in a series of letters in the *Churchman*: but the recollection of the “rain, hail, and horrid thunder-claps,” which had been “poured upon him,” “determined him never to resume, on his individual responsibility.” “Several of the Bishops, and a large number of the clergy,” now approached him, “willing to share with him the responsibility,” “by giving their signatures;” and under this high authority, he girds himself for the work. “But another work, which,” says he, “the Church was pleased to ask of me, interfered (the editing of a *Standard Prayer-Book*).” Accordingly, as soon as the *Prayer-Book* is published, in obedience to this new call of the Church, he takes the Puritans in hand. I confess, that after all this note of preparation, I did expect something,—that a decent edifice, at least, should follow so notable a porch.

confesses, p. 13, that he "at first acted" under "provocation;" and that "a fresh and bitterer provocation induced him to continue writing." Like the old Athenian, who was tired of always hearing Aristides called the just, Dr. Coit had long been indignant at bearing "the infliction" of "harangues" (p. 22), about Plymouth Rock, and the Pilgrim Fathers; and so he is determined never to cease throwing javelins (if, at this distance, I can remember rightly a sentence in his original letters in the Churchman) "as long as an eye can point, or an arm can hurl." But let us come to

THE MAIN POINT.

The main point in Dr. Coit's book, is to inquire "simply and plainly *why* did the Puritans come to these shores? Did they abandon England *solely* or even *principally* on account of religious considerations?" (p. 16.) "My answer," he says, "is an immediate negative."

To this inquiry he is induced under "provocation" (p. 13). And this provocation was that, "the celebrity of the Plymouth Rock heroes is expatiated on year by year" (p. 15). "Why?" Oh! because—"they were persecuted"—"they fled from persecution"—"they came in suffering and poverty to a desolate shore;"—"because they were striving to escape from the tyranny of unjust kings, and the domination of lords spiritual;"—"and were willing to endure all this, that they might throw off the yoke of despotism, and cast aside the mummeries of superstition.—"

Here he demands, "Is the tyranny by which public opinion is swayed—the yoke under which it is bowed—the mummery by which it is worked, never to cease?" This "tyranny" of "public opinion," he is now about to overthrow.

HE MORE PRECISELY DEFINES HIS POSITION.

On p. 73, he more precisely lays down his great position: "The representation which depicts the Puritans as having 'transported' (unlucky phrase!) themselves for a purely religious cause, is one which, with New England sturdiness, I must positively deny, and continue to deny till I can read history back-

and sacrificed and died *in and for* the faith which my heart cherishes, and my mind reveres." "And of the *Church* to which they cling with such firm zeal, would I exclaim in the beautiful apostrophe of the dying Tobit (Tobit xiii. 14)," &c.

He fully carries out his plan of saying nothing in favor of the Puritans. In his "CONCLUSION" (p. 247), he says, "And now, I suppose the question will be asked, Having said all which one of the 'Malignant Party' *can* say to disparage the Puritans, are you going to part with them, and utter no words in their praise?"

"And my reply will be shorter, much shorter, than many expect." First, he declares that he *has* praised the Huguenots, Gov. Winthrop, and Roger Williams. In the second place, he says, "I have as full faith in the piety, in the honesty, and in the Protestantism of AP. LAUD, &c." And in case the descendants of the Puritans shall ever honor him, "the example," he says, "may so captivate me that I may forget it is *my duty to silence Puritan clamors, by enumerating Puritan faults.*" So ends his book. He has stuck manfully—through thick and thin, to his design; to blacken the character of the Puritans, and to be careful to concede nothing to their praise

wards." "My fellow-churchmen, I am equally positive, will give me a hearty *Amen*." He does well to call the attempt to substantiate such a denial, an "*adventure*." It is so indeed; and very much like the adventure of Don Quixote with the windmills,—thus to fly in the face of the amplest and most undeniable documents of the times, as well as of the concurrent and settled testimony of all received history. It is, indeed, an adventure, and altogether Quixotic,—on the strength of such nameless or obsolete histories as he adduces—by the revival of slanders which gained no credit in their day, and which were therefore consigned to oblivion,—and upon the strength of such arguments as Dr. Coit advances,—to "deny," that the Pilgrim Fathers of New England came to this country, "solely, or even *principally* for a religious cause."

Dr. Coit, however, nothing daunted, having received in anticipation the "Amen" of his "fellow-churchmen," further strengthens himself for his adventure by a quotation from the Apocrypha: "Strive for the truth unto death, and the Lord shall fight for thee."—Ecclus. iv. 28. "It speaks the sense of inspiration, if not its words," says Dr. Coit; "and I can act on it with uplifting confidence in my brethren, and of my cause." (He has not only the anticipated "*Amen*" of his "fellow-churchmen," but what is better, he has the sign manual of several of the Bishops and many of the clergy. He is the champion specially called to this work by the Church; and why should he not be bold?)

HE PREPARES TO MAKE HIS ONSET.

Thus fortified, and with these invocations, this historical Don Quixote rushes on the windmills. He adopts "good old Owen Felltham's definition of a Puritan"—CHURCH-REBEL, p. 74. "They deserted England," says he, "because this ascendancy ['in Church and State'] was beyond their control."—"True, they conjured up a storm and went away in the midst of it."—"They were compelled to retreat."—"Yes, they sailed for Holland."—"There they were tolerated, indeed, but watched."—"Their smothered ambition at last breaks out; and we find them pushing for a theatre, where they might be free from watching, and wield the rod of empire, with none to make afraid."—"But, after all, they were too wary to be content with a skeleton form of government, not clothed upon with wholesome muscle, embraced with nerve and sinew."—"They never braved a billow till they had attempted to drive a favorable bargain with a company of merchants." "They and their emissaries went to and fro, like the raven, upon the waters, *till they obtained, under sign and seal, a CHARTER*, whose munificent compass and unqualified endowments, rivalled, in their construction of it, the powers of Parliament, and every court within the realm."—"And being such, and attempting such things in England, and failing *there*—failing, too, in their fond schemes in Holland—then compacting with an avowed band of money-getters, and *fortified by this ALL-EMBRACING CHARTER*, they set up their standard on this distant shore: and all this for 'a religious cause.'" "They profess freely, that they came here to 'win the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God

and Saviour of Mankind' (SEE THE CHARTER), and all this for 'a purely religious cause.'” In this strain of ribaldry he continues from page to page; winding up each of his successive paragraphs of invective with the repeated sneer, “And all for a *religious* cause!”—“They tolerated such grossness in the pulpit and in the press,” “as might disgrace a bar-room, and all this for a purely religious cause!”*

THE ARRAY OF HIS ANTAGONISTS.

And now Dr. Coit arranges some select specimens of the common historical statements which he is about to assail: “Says *John Norton*, in 1657, with a dogmatism inherent in his race, ‘It concerns New England always to remember, that originally, they are a plantation *religious*, and not a plantation of trade.’”—“*Increase Mather* hath this: ‘It was with regard to Church order and discipline that the good old Puritan Non-Conformists *transported* themselves and their families over the vast ocean to the going down of the sun.’”—“Says *Judge Story*, ‘The Puritans, persecuted at home, and groaning under the weight of spiritual bondage, cast a longing eye toward America, as an ultimate retreat for themselves and their children.’”

“Says a Unitarian minister (Mr. Francis), ‘The enterprise was, strictly speaking, an ecclesiastical concern.’”

“And lastly, says even a *Baptist* (Dr. *Wayland*), ‘*The Puritans*, A TITLE OF INTELLECTUAL AS WELL AS OF MORAL NOBILITY, left all the endearments of home for a *purely religious* cause.’”

* Strange laws of association seem to reign in Dr. Coit's mind. He cannot close this tirade against the Pilgrims without running into his favorite theme, the eulogy of Archbishop Laud; one would think, from the frequency with which he introduces this name, that the canonization of Laud was the great collateral design of this book. It is his favorite theme. To this retreat he constantly withdraws to breathe himself, after spending his fury upon the Puritans. Ever and anon the “murdered prelate and his still assassinated memory” (p. 122), stalk forth to view throughout the book. The eulogy on p. 78, of Dr. Coit's book, is a curiosity worth transcribing: “I well know that my advocacy of this ill-omened name [Laud], how slight soever, will be atrocious guilt before that livid implacability, which will never admit that its offences against man, have to man been deeply atoned for, by a trial, to which the rack were a mercy, and by death (earth's latest boon to him) under the executioner's axe. But I feel as it were anything but sin to defend him, (noble defender as he was of the Protestant faith, &c.) when, even at this late day, I discover a very positive assertor, declaring that “but for the Puritans, England had never become Protestant.” [Bancroft.] “Venerable, but, alas, Episcopal Lambeth! the blood of two of your archbishops, martyred by Romanists and by Puritans, proclaims who were your worst enemies, and how earnestly you have contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, by the ‘armor of righteousness ON THE RIGHT HAND AND ON THE LEFT.’” As Laud fell in attempting to make the king an absolute despot, and in endeavoring to establish, practically, as well as theoretically, the dogma of passive obedience and non-resistance, Dr. Coit should seem bound to tell us, whether he thinks *these* among the doctrines once delivered to the saints; and whether he deems it “the armor of righteousness,” to gird one's self with poplery for the maintenance of such tenets.

This is the array of authorities which Mr. Coit himself sets up as the mark of his point-blank contradictions.

Now, before examining Dr. Coit's authorities, we may venture to remark, that here is a combination of knowledge, and talent, and weight of character in the very opponents against which he has set himself in battle array, enough to warn him of the necessity of seeing that his steel be good, and his blade true steel, before he ventures the onset. He needs the most indubitable facts, and the best of arguments, to set aside the concurrent testimony of whole generations of such men as he has here attempted to contradict. *John Norton* was one of the early Massachusetts colonists; he knew, and he addressed those who knew, for what reason they left their homes. They did not contradict him; but lived and died in the full persuasion, that they came from their country, in flight from persecution, and for freedom to worship God. No lesson was more thoroughly instilled into the minds of their children. The sermons, letters, histories, of that generation, are full of this fact. They contradict the aspersers of their character, who fabricate the slanders which Dr. Coit has with so much pains raked from the dust of oblivion, to which the verdict of the world had consigned them.

Increase Mather, too, was but a step distant from the transactions which he recorded, and could not be mistaken with regard to the considerations which brought the Puritans to these shores.

Judge Story, too, the profoundest jurist of his age, inferior to none in a thorough acquaintance with the early history of his native land, and of integrity beyond reproach: one would think that he was no mean authority on a matter of history so easily ascertained.

And then, *Dr. Wayland*, who can accuse *him* of ignorance? What well-informed American has not been delighted with the productions of his genius, admired the profoundness of his views, and revered him as one of the deepest and most accurate thinkers of the age? One would suppose that such an encomium as *he* has passed upon the Puritan founders of New England, is entitled to some little weight. And Dr. Coit seems to wonder that such a testimony should be borne, "even" by a "Baptist;" thus acknowledging that Dr. Wayland speaks under no improper bias. Truly, Dr. Coit needs well "his adamantine coat girt well," for such an encounter.

THE ENCOUNTER.

Having witnessed the array, let us now observe the encounter. This concurrent testimony concerning the motives that brought the Pilgrim Fathers to these shores, Dr. Coit attempts to meet by arguments drawn from **AUTHORITIES** and **FACTS**. Let us examine them.

I. His **AUTHORITIES**.—"My answer," says he, "is an immediate negative; and I think it can easily be made out from a **SINGLE WORK** I have at hand, and might as well, or better, be from many others, had I at this moment access to them." This "single work" figures largely on his pages, and is his great gun—his "Peace-Maker"—among his other authorities. Listen to its description: "The work alluded to, is entitled, 'An account of the European settlements in

America, in six parts. London: 1757, 2 vols., 8vo.'” This is Dr. Coit’s great authority. And what is this authority?

1. It comes to us without a name; at least, Dr. Coit does not give us the name of its author, or any vouchers for its character or authenticity.

2. Its date is 1757; which is nearly one hundred years too late to be of any authority at all.

3. Dr. Coit tells us that it is a “rare” work: *primâ facie* evidence that it has for one hundred and thirty years been generally considered a worthless one.

4. The quotations adduced by Dr. Coit bear the clearest and most demonstrable evidences either of error or of falsehood, with regard to the plainest matters of fact: as I shall presently show, under the next head.

And this is the *authority* on which Dr. Coit ventures to put forth his denial of the unanimous declarations of the actors of those times, together with the concurrent testimony of all received history! On such authority as this, he rakes up old and thrice-refuted slanders against the Puritans! With “uplifting confidence” in his “fellow-churchmen”—in certain expectation of their approving “*Amen*,” he delves into the neglected rubbish, but declares, that as to “those without,” he must “expect no quarter for rousing *facts* from a sleep which they had fain hoped to make eternal.” “My *facts* will live,” quoth Dr. Coit, “even though *I* should be ‘*rhetorically crucified*.’”

I come, then,

II. To HIS *FACTS*.—Not to make too long a story, by stopping to castigate a thousand and one of his statements, in minor things, which, in my view, are equally deserving of castigation, I come at once to the main prop and pillar of his entire proof that the Pilgrims came to America, not from religious considerations. I refer to what Dr. Coit alleges to be the *facts* in the matter of the CHARTER, which he represents the Pilgrims as bringing with them from Holland to America; and which, he argues, contains the prime moving cause that brought them hither.

“Now,” says Dr. Coit (*p.* 16), “if they merely wanted freedom of conscience, they *had it* IN HOLLAND, *ex-abundanti*.” * * * “And, moreover, as their CHARTER for a settlement in America, which they had wit or influence to obtain, even when they had left England, as THIS CHARTER shows,” &c.—“These formidable denouncers” * * * “took precious good care that THIS CHARTER should cover the exclusive trade,” “from Nova Scotia to the southern parts of Carolina,” “and,” “that it should guarantee ‘the entire property of the soil besides.’” (“See vol. ii., 138, of the work above,”)—[the old authority of 1757 2 vols. 8vo., which he had already twice quoted in this connection—thus, “It states unequivocally, vol. ii., 137, 138,”—“As our author affirms with unquestionable truth.”] “Nay,” continues Dr. Coit, “as this same work shows (*p.* 140), ‘the then profitable trade of furs and skins,’ and the ‘fisheries,’ induced not a few, ‘uneasy at home upon a *religious* account,’ to go where they might enjoy the valuable opinion of free thought, and the invaluable one of making money a little faster.”

On pp. 74 and 75, as I have already quoted, he recurs to the same subject again: “They were compelled to retreat—yes, and they sailed for *Holland*.”

* * * "There they were tolerated indeed, but watched," "says the philosophical and impartial author of 'European Settlements,' whose work has been already quoted"—[the old nameless author of 1757, 2 vols. 8vo.]. "Eleven long tedious years" were quite enough to make them 'devoutly tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary.'—"Their smothered ambition at last breaks out; and we find them pushing for a theatre where they might be free from watching."—"They and their emissaries went to and fro, like the raven upon the waters, till they obtained under sign and seal, a CHARTER, whose munificent compass rivalled, in *their* construction of it, the powers of Parliament, and every court within the realm."—"And being such, and attempting such 'things in England, and failing *there*—failing, too, in their fond schemes in Holland—then compacting with an avowed band of money-getters, and *fortified by this all-embracing* CHARTER, they set up their standard on this distant shore."

I have made these quotations so long, for the purpose of showing indubitably, what it is that he declares, viz.: that these *Pilgrims* who went to Holland, "after they had left England," and before they sailed for America—"fortified *themselves by such an ALL-EMBRACING CHARTER,*" whose munificent compass "rivalled, in *their* construction of it, the powers of Parliament, and every court within the realm."

From these "FACTS," thus substantiated by numerous appeals to volume and page of his nameless old author of "1757, 2 vols. 8vo.," he argues that the Pilgrims came from no religious considerations, but from motives of simple ambition and avarice—mere adventurers—in a paltry speculation in furs and fish.*

Fortified by this all-embracing CHARTER, conveying an exclusive title to the soil, and an exclusive trade "from Nova Scotia to the south parts of Carolina," after eleven tedious years, these Pilgrims in Holland, "hoist the mainsail to the wind," "and steer for a land where they may be unrivalled and supreme." "Verily, this is a plain case, and the whole of it," quoth Dr. Coit.

Now, what becomes of this great "*fact*" about the "*Charter*," upon which Dr. Coit rests the main pillar of his argument—if it shall turn out that the Plymouth Colony *never had any such charter as Dr. Coit describes*; and that they

* Hear his conclusion in his own words (p. 18): "Such evidence" (of which the FACTS about the CHARTER constitute the main pillar)—"Such evidence (and it might be piled up in heaps, if necessary) establishes incontestably the FACT, that persecution for religious opinions never *drove* the Puritans from home, to seek the inhospitable shelter of a howling wilderness. They might have had comfortable homes by good Dutch peat-fires, and lived and died unmolested and unfearing: although, perhaps, with less stock at the banker's than 'exclusive trade' in furs and fisheries might secure. But they wanted a little more notoriety, a little more power, a little more money. They who wielded the government of England, and enjoyed its offices, were Episcopalians; those who were at the helm in Holland were Presbyterians." * * "The ascendancy in Holland would be as hard to gain as the ascendancy at home (I mean the ascendancy in politics, money-making and religion); and so nothing remained but to 'hoist the mainsail to the wind' and to steer for a land where they might be unrivalled and supreme!"—"Verily, this is a plain case, and the whole of it."

sailed from Hollan^d *without any charter at all*? Such was the fact; none of the New England colonies ever had any such charter;* and the Plymouth colonists came to this country without any charter at all. What becomes of Dr. Coit's nameless author of "1757, 2 vols. 8vo.?" What becomes of the historical accuracy of Dr. Coit, who can build so much upon a "FACT," which he thinks will never die, but which, after all, turns out to be a sheer ridiculous blunder of his own?

"The adventurers," says Noah Webster, with entire truth (Hist., p. 100), "attempted to procure a patent under the Virginia Company, but they found it very difficult, on account of the odiousness of their principles. They finally obtained one in the name of John Wincob, but he failing to remove to America, it was of no use, *and they came without one.*"

Save this patent from the Virginia Company, there is no sense in which the Colonists had any pretensions to, or expectation of, any Charter at all. This Virginia Charter, moreover, is, as I shall show, not the one to which Dr. Coit refers, in the statements in question; so that, so far forth as his statements and facts are concerned, it is in the fullest sense absolutely true, that they came without any Charter at all.†

But Dr. Coit's blunders about this famous Charter, are not yet half revealed. So far, he had written and published ten years ago; and now, at the instance of the Bishops and clergy, and under their signatures, that they may share with him the responsibility,—he puts forth the same statements again into the

* Dr. Coit here manifestly mistakes the Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon (to whom this magnificent Charter belonged), for the Plymouth colonists. But, even so, he quotes the wrong Charter; for the Charter of the Plymouth Council extended from the 40th to the 48th degree north latitude, while the one which Dr. Coit attributes to the Leyden Pilgrims, he says (p. 16), extended from "Nova Scotia to the southern parts of Carolina." Here he evidently blunders again, mistaking the Virginia Charter of 1602, for that of the Council at Plymouth, of 1620. Moreover, the Charter of the Plymouth Council was not granted to Puritans, but to "The Duke of Lenox, the Marquesses of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir F. Georges," and their associates. Moreover, it was not the Patent of the Plymouth Council that was transferred to America, as Dr. Coit represents, but the Patent of *Massachusetts*, which the Plymouth Council sold to Endicott and his associates, and which King Charles confirmed by Charter, March 4, 1629.

† The Patent which the Plymouth Colonists received, was granted Jan. 13, 1630, by "The Council for New England,"—in "consideration that William Bradford and his associates have for these nine years lived in New England, and have there planted a town called New Plymouth, at their own charges, and now seeing by the special providence of God and their extraordinary care and industry, they have increased their plantations to near 300 people." The boundaries of this Patent, were "between Cohasset rivulet on the north, and Narragansett river towards the south;" the Atlantic on the east, and westward "to the utmost bounds of a country in New England called Pacanokit, *alias* Swamset." ["Book of Charters," Prince, p. 270. Prince shows the mistakes of Hubbard and Dudley—with regard to another grant from the King, which miscarried; and with regard to "successive Patents from King James and Charles."]

light. On pp. 130, 133, he again puts the provision of this famous Charter into the hands of the Plymouth colonists—"Robinson forsakes Smith. He goes to Leyden, where he and his preach a ten years' homily to Calvinists, or breakers of the Sabbath," &c. "The prospect becomes weary," "and they determine to go away"—"This is the plain short tale." "They style themselves voluntary exiles from our dear native country,"—"that the people of Holland did not drive them out." "Pass we now from this, to the next advance in our Pilgrim's Progress, and let us inquire there" * * "stepping out upon that memorable Rock" [of Plymouth]. "Now by the side of" this [Plymouth Rock] "is the fit place to examine that wondrous piece of parchment" [the Charter] "to which I have again and again referred." But at this period, he has discovered a part of his former blunder; and the Charter belongs not now to the Pilgrims—who went, like the raven, upon the waters till they had obtained it:—it belongs *now* to the "Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon," in England; under "the ban of whose princely privileges," he says these Pilgrims expect to grow, &c. Here he quotes the glowing language of Bancroft, describing the extent and richness of the grant,—from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude—from the Atlantic to the Pacific.—In this connection, he again (p. 135) quotes his old author of "1757—2 Vols. 8vo." ii., 140—to show, that "This Colony [Plymouth] received its principal assistance from the discontent of several *great* men of the Puritan party;—to wit, of those who had obtained this Charter, and "who entertained a design of settling among them in New England, if they should fail," in their ambitious designs "in their mother country."

After this famous charter has figured so largely in his book, he at length, in the notes at the end of his volume, discovers that his original statement is erroneous; and says, Note 5, "There is a technical inaccuracy here, which, however, redounds not to the credit of the Puritans, but the contrary. The charter under which they first acted, was the charter of the Plymouth council in England; and it is from this, and not from the charter of 1629 (obtained after they had left England) that the quotations of the text come." (He refers in his note to (p. 17) his original statement, representing the Pilgrims as led across the waters from Holland, by the splendid provisions of this charter.)

What a blundering author is this, who after ten years' study cannot correct his former blunder, without falling into a half a dozen other blunders still more ridiculous! Here is a concession, that he *aimed* at quoting from the charter of 1629—but by "a technical inaccuracy" he blundered into the Charter of the English Company in the county of Devon,—instead of taking his extracts from the one he should have quoted! And really, Dr. Coit now confesses, that he *should* have quoted,—and *supposed he had* quoted—from the Charter of 1629, to account for the motives which actuated the Pilgrims in 1620! And this is "a technical inaccuracy"—"which, however, redounds not to the Puritan credit, but rather the contrary!" And the good Bishops and clergy have given him "their signatures" to share with him the "responsibility" of publishing disagreeable facts!"—(p. 1.) And that too, after they had had his remarkable discovery about the Charter before them for ten years!

But we are not yet at the end of Dr. Coit's blunderings about the Charter. He says in his note, that the Charter under which the Puritans in question (viz. the pilgrims from Holland) "first acted, was the Charter of the Plymouth council in England; and it is from this" "that the quotations in the text come." Very well: from what Charter *should* they come, save from the one under which the Pilgrims "first acted?" Is there any "technical inaccuracy" here? Ought he rather to account for the motives of their action, by a Charter given nine years *after* they had acted? Be it so, that the true reasons were given after all—since Dr. Coit leaves it as true in the text; be it so, that they came induced by the provisions of that splendid Charter "under which" they "first acted." What will Dr. Coit say now to the small fact, that the Plymouth company in England, under whose auspices he represents the Holland Puritans as "acting first," *was not in existence* till the Pilgrims were already well nigh across the ocean? Says *Prince* (p. 130), "I have now only to remind the reader, that utterly unsought, and then, unknown to them, on Nov. 3, about a week before their arriving at Cape Cod, King James signs a Patent for the incorporation of the adventurers to the Northern colony of Virginia, between 40 and 48 degrees north;—— styling them the Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, &c., of New England, in America." Surely, surely, the provisions of that Charter, and the favor of that Company, could not be among the reasons which led the Holland Pilgrims to America, when neither was that Charter, nor that Company in existence, till these Pilgrims were almost across the ocean!*

Once more, I say, what a blundering historian is this; who with ample

* Nor is it possible for Dr. Coit to retreat, by saying that he meant not the Plymouth Puritans, but those of Massachusetts; he expressly, repeatedly, and in the most direct and strongest terms applies these things to the Plymouth Colonists by name; moreover, he cuts himself off from escaping through any possible loop-holes—by saying that he meant, in a general and indefinite way, to extend these particular specifications to the Pilgrims who came, in after days, to the Massachusetts colony;—he cuts himself off from this in the text (p. 17), by specifying the Charter "which they had wit or influence enough to obtain, *even when they had left England:*" and in the Note (5), he expressly says the Charter "*obtained after they had left England.*" Now whatever Charter the *Massachusetts* Colonists had, they obtained *before* they left England. On March 19, 1628, the Council for New England sold Endicott and others the tract between the Merrimack and the Charles, with three miles beyond each, and westward to the Pacific ocean.

Some time after this "Mr. White brings these grantees into acquaintance with several other religious persons in and about London, who are first associated to them, then buy their right in the Patent, and consult about settling some plantation in the Massachusetts Bay, on the account of religion" (*Mass. Col. Records in Prince*, p. 248). Their pioneer, Mr. Endicott, sails June 20, 1628. March 4, 1629, King Charles confirms the Charter—and makes them a body corporate and politic. March 23, 1629, they hear of "Mr. Higginson, an eminent minister silenced for non-conformity," who might probably be obtained to go with the colony. April 16, "sixty women and maids, twenty-six children, and 300 men, with victuals, arms, apparel, tools, and 140 head of cattle," sail for New England. This was the first Massachusetts Colony.

documents before him, and after ten years' study, and so sure that his facts will be scrutinized, that he expects to be "rhetorically crucified,"—is yet incompetent to come at the truth in so simple a matter of fact; but writes a whole book, basing its main argument upon a series of blunders so gross, that the least of them would, in Dr. Busby's time, have earned for the unlucky tyro who should make it, a thorough birching! And this is the advocacy which "several of the Bishops, and many of the clergy," have called in, to the precious work of blackening the character of the Puritans, for the benefit of the Church! This is the work, which, Dr. Coit fondly thinks, is to cause such a "tempest of rain, hail, and horrid thunder-claps;" but which is, nevertheless, to overturn not only the records of the Pilgrims themselves, but the current and settled history, received by the whole world! "It was necessary," says Dr. Coit, "that *some one* should bring these facts into open view." "My **FACTS** will not be extinguished." Yes; his **FACTS** are to give him immortality!

DR. COIT ON THE ORIGIN AND GENERALSHIP OF THE PURITANS.

But it is time to proceed to other "Facts."

Dr. Coit maintains that "the fanatics of Germany are the first fathers of Puritanism—" (p. 26), that "the term Roundhead "was well known in England long before its appearance on the English shores; and if the *outside* of its head was imported from a land of fierce fanaticism, it is hard to suppose that some of the *inside* of it did not come from the *same source*;"* that "these pretenders to tenderness of conscience" (p. 27) "would have meted out and trodden down Church and State, as straw is trodden down for the dunghill;" (p. 29); that this was foreseen and dreaded by Laud" (p. 38); that by "expert" generalship, they "commenced their warfare on such jots and tittles as caps and surplices"—as "an expert general attacks a fortress, almost impregnable" "by drawing his lines of circumvallation, cutting off a bastion here, and a redoubt there; till he can bring his guns to bear upon its citadel, and beat that

* On p. 25, Dr. Coit says, "It is generally supposed, that Puritanism took its rise from the exiles, who were compelled to fly the kingdom in the reign of Queen Mary." This however Dr. C. denies, and refers to two *authorities*—a "folio" of "Dugdale," who was born half a century after the reign of Queen Mary; and to Bishop Hall in the time of the Long Parliament. Dugdale, he says, "advances the opinion" that they [the Puritans] "were first imported into England from the Continent, in the reign of King Edward VI.,"—and that "Calvin would have had Somerset, the Protector, restrain them by the avenging sword." He then quotes Bishop Hall, who after talking about "Jack Straws, and Cades and Wat Tylers"—says, "Those of your Lordships that have read the history of the Anabaptistical tumults at Munster, will need no other item; let it be enough to say that many of these sectaries are of the same profession" (p. 26). Here then is Dr. Coit's authority for the *fact*; that "the Fanatics of Germany" "imported into England,"—are the first fathers of English Puritanism!—an "*opinion*" of Dugdale, expressed in his "folio," and the assertion of Bishop Hall—that "many of these sectaries "are"—what? German Anabaptists? imported from the Continent? No—but are of the *same profession*!" On this authority Dr. Coit ventures roundly to contradict what has "been generally supposed" on the credit of the generally received history of the times! How very astute!

to pieces about the ears of his opponents, unless they surrender at discretion. And so did the Puritans begin in England ;—that “ Charles I. comprehended the game,” so did King Jamie, for he “ had all the shrewdness of a Scotch man, if he did sometimes exhibit the fooleries of a pedant.”

But here are “ FACTS” enough for one digestion ; let us pause a moment.

As to the *design* and *generalship* of the Puritans in England, who “ began” about “ such jots and tittles as caps and surplices,” it is well known who, if anybody, began this artful warfare. One would scarcely suppose—if it did not appear from Dr. Coit’s immortal “ facts,” that the venerable Bishop and martyr *Hooper*, who “ began” to scruple such “ jots and tittles as caps and surplices,” could have entertained such an ulterior and nefarious design against the Church and State of England. One would scarce suppose that Miles Coverdale the Bishop, and Fox the Martyrologist, were only acting the part of “ expert generals” when they doomed themselves to obscurity and poverty by refusing the habits, rather than to roll in honor and wealth as dignitaries of the Church by a timely conformity. But so it seems, it must have been. Dr. Coit’s “ FACTS” cannot live without this, and Dr. Coit’s facts “ will not die.” And yet one would suppose that Dr. C. would find some *difficulty* with such names as Hooper, Coverdale, and Fox. Not at all: Dr. Coit sees no difficulty here ; or if he does, he can dispose of it with a sneer. “ Hooper,” says Dr. Coit (p. 45), “ chameleon like, caught the color of his ecclesiastical associations” [on the Continent]. “ He returned with a passion for stark simplicity. He protested against the Episcopal robes when about to be consecrated—” “ Possibly he was a little *proud* of his plainness, as Plato told Diogenes he was of his rags.” Indeed, as a shrewd writer has observed, Satan himself regards, as his darling sin, ‘ the pride that apes humility.’ ” So “ Old Miles Coverdale”—“ shrunk from Episcopal drapery, with the same sensitiveness which had *afflicted the epidermis* of his Rt. Rev. brother.” And “ John Fox, summoned by the Primate and Metropolitan of all England to subscribe to the Liturgy, Articles, and Canons”—“ the sturdy old *non-conformist* thrust a New Testament into his face, and said he would subscribe to that, and that alone ;” and Dr. C. appears to think it a marvellous instance of mercy in the “ highest magnate in the land,” that Fox was not sent to the “ dungeons of the Tower ;” but “ died quietly in his nest.”

Now, although Dr. Coit does not directly charge these nefarious designs upon Hooper, Coverdale, and Fox,—the scope of his argument must needs include them. These, as I have said, “ began” the war against “ such jots and tittles as Caps and Surplices.” Dr. Coit’s “ facts” weigh as heavily against them as against any others. If these were not guilty of aiming, with expert generalship, at the overthrow of Church and State, then the charge surely does not lie against the people, who, for several generations, were plundered, imprisoned, or banished for non-conformity. The charge surely cannot lie against the company of Puritans,—who were seized, plundered, and separated from their wives and children,—as they were about to flee into Holland. Their persecutors, and the persecutors of the generations before them, *alleged no such criminal designs against them, as Dr. Coit charges upon them, but openly*

and boldly, and avowedly, inflicted these things upon them for non-conformity I humbly submit, to the judgment of the reader, whether this *fact* is not conclusive against the charges of Dr. Coit, that they are mere gratuitous slanders

MARVELLOUS PREACHING OF THE PURITAN MINISTERS.

Dr. Coit has another "fact" to prove the original and nefarious designs of the Puritans. "The *end* which the Puritans did finally lay hold on, and the manner in which they rode down Episcopalians, and rode round Presbyterians, satisfies me completely," says he, "that the end was foreseen (in hope at least) long before they attained the prize of their calling" (p. 34). "It was not enough for them to annihilate offices, they must cut off heads also. The blood of Strafford and Laud, and Charles I. will stain their annals for ever." "It will never answer, therefore, for the Puritan ministers to resist the imputation of blood-guiltiness." "The Puritan ministers preached down Strafford, and Laud, and Charles; and Puritan emissaries of State dragged them to the block." (p. 36.)

What has all this to do with "Plymouth Rock Harangues," and with the Puritan Fathers of New England? The Pilgrims fled to Holland in 1608. They landed at Plymouth in 1620. The first emigrants to Massachusetts colony came in 1628, 1629, and 1630. Charles I. was beheaded in 1649. And yet "the end," which was finally attained in England in 1649, convinces Dr. Coit of the original nefarious designs of the Puritans,—of these fugitives to Holland, and of those who had been settled in New England 29 years;—a period wanting only one year of the life-time of a generation. Truly, Dr. Coit must be in distress for "*facts*," and for arguments, too!

But there are two or three small facts more against these conclusions of Dr. Coit. The Puritan pulpits had been emptied again and again; the Puritan people had been imprisoned or banished, till, at the time when the Pilgrims were driven to Holland, it was supposed that not twenty ministers, known to be favorable to their principles, were left in the Church of England, in all her ten thousand parishes. What mighty preachers these must have been, to out-preach the nine thousand church-preachers, with all the deacons, arch-deacons, bishops, and archbishops to boot!—nay, with the civil courts, and all the jails and prisons in old England to aid the church clergy, besides!—to preach down the Archbishop, the Premier, and the King together! Wonderful preaching this! and all in the very worst cause; with neither truth nor reason on their side! Dr. Coit, however, forgets that known and avowed Puritans were not suffered to preach at all; not in the churches of the Establishment, nor yet in the fields. They were silenced, fined, imprisoned, and glad, if they might so far escape the vigilance of the hierarchy, as to steal away to the wilds of America. No, the truth was, that after the Puritans had been as far as possible subdued and driven off, those who *had remained* STAUNCH CHURCHMEN, rose upon their tyrant king and his ministers, and, after a noble and glorious conflict for the rights of Englishmen, put them down. In standing for the rights of conscience and for freedom, they were necessarily led to the adoption of some of the main principles of the Puritans; and at length many of them

became Puritans outright; but, glorious as the struggle was—we cannot claim its honors for the Fathers of New England. They were away, three thousand miles distant;—exiles for conscience' sake, and for freedom to worship God.

DR COIT ON THE PRESENT DESIGNS OF ENGLISH DISSENTERS.

Yet Dr. Coit insists upon these original and ulterior designs of the Puritans. "Yes," he says (p. 349), "Puritanism would have done, in ages past, what Dissent is ready to do, *and striving to do*, in this current hour. Dissent would blithesomely *overturn a government*, which keeps the balance in a hemisphere; even though it must die in the entombment of its accounted foe. And die it will, if it succeed in bringing England to the desolation of an agrarian level. Like the sinner who perishes utterly in his own corruption, it will be crushed in the ruin it will have wrought."

Here is another of Dr. Coit's "FACTS;" that the Dissenters in England are "*striving*" "*in this current hour*," to "*overturn*" the British "*Government!*"

There is doubtless just as much truth in this accusation, as there is in Dr. Coit's assertions concerning the ulterior and original designs of the old Puritans. Half the people who regularly attend upon the public worship of God in England, are Dissenters. If Dr. Coit were there—in the seat of Archbishop Laud, and possessed of his power, these wicked Dissenters should doubtless know what it is to aim at overturning the State, and to provoke an Archbishop.

COURTEOUS AND LENIENT DISPOSITION OF THE CHURCH IN PERSECUTING THE PURITANS.

I say *doubtless*, for Dr. Coit contends further: 1, That "there was the greatest disposition to treat the moderate party of the Puritans with indulgence" (p. 43); and 2, That the Church had a right to enforce upon them her requirements, by such penalties as she did.

With regard to the first of these positions he says, "If anything be wanting" [to substantiate this allegation] "it is supplied by the fact" that old Queen Bess was most *politely conciliatory*, in offering "to acquiesce in an omission of three superlatively dismal exactions,"—"provided there were uniformity in other things."—"In view of such evidence," he says (p. 49), "a man must be voracious in appetite, and fastidious in digestion, beyond all reasonable dyspeptic liberty, if he could still demand proof of the *lenient* and *courteous* disposition of the Government, towards all who were moderate and *gentlemanly* in their objections, &c." "That they treated a *hirsute and greedy generation*, who would have handled them with the paw of the lion, and the paw of the bear, with less amenity, may not be, possibly among the world's seven wonders." This position he advances as a *Fact*, not only in his own eyes but those of Dr. Jarvis also.

With the leave of Dr. Coit, and of Dr. Jarvis, I would humbly suggest that these things are matters of *opinion* rather than of *fact*. It depends very much upon what is thought to be *moderate*, and *lenient*, and *gentlemanly* in these matters; and upon what degree of "indulgence" is thought to be due to rights

of conscience. If it be "lenient" and "courteous," to set spies in every parish, to report every omission of a ceremony, of a cap, or surplice, or tippet;—if it be thought "courteous" to compel men, by the oath *ex-officio*, to accuse themselves and their neighbors; if it be thought "indulgent" to fine, distress, and imprison the most quiet citizens who shall be guilty of non-conformity,—and to retain them in prison till the unwholesome air, and hunger, and cold, cause pestilence and death—all for simple non-conformity;—and if it be not "gentlemanly" for such prisoners to send their humble petition that they "may not perish without trial, but have the benefit of the laws," as well as some "relief for their distressed consciences;" if these things be so, then I submissively concede to Drs. Coit and Jarvis, that the Puritans were not "gentlemanly;" and that because they were not gentlemanly, the bearing of the Bishops towards this "hirsute and greedy generation," was "lenient" and "courteous." But when I concede this to the Doctors, they, of necessity, must avow this to be their doctrine concerning what is lenient, and courteous, and gentlemanly, in matters pertaining to the Rights of Conscience, touching the worship of God.

DR. COIT ON THE RIGHT TO PERSECUTE.

I say, they must admit this to be their doctrine; and Dr. Coit will probably find no difficulty in doing so, since, 2, He lays down this doctrine concerning the right of the National Church to persecute non-conformists. On *p. 67* he asks, "What possibly consistent argument can be urged, that this government should have yielded to their demands?" (They demanded nothing but liberty to worship God without doing violence to their own consciences.) "A great nation," continues Dr. Coit, "not to manage its concerns in its own way, but to submit to the dictation of a petty clan, whose best commendation is, that themselves think themselves holier, wiser, and worthier." And because it will not,—and arrests (it may be not with a nurse's gentleness to a *queasy baby*) that unruly evil—are "its acts" to be "denounced, not to the third and fourth (the Divine limit), but to the thirtieth and fortieth generation, as the quintessence of tyranny? O modesty! truth, and candor! is such a perversion of right reason one of the illustrations of Total Depravity?" "But does not simple fact authorize me to draw this picture, of the restless demands, the sour aspersions, and the demolishing schemes of the thorough-bred Puritans?"

Here we have it: the "great nation" had a *right* to impose these ceremonies and habits, by law; and to *enforce* them upon those "queasy babies," the Puritans; and "What possibly consistent argument can be urged why this Government should have yielded to their demands?" And "such a perversion of right reason," as to denounce these acts of the government as "the quintessence of tyranny," is "one of the illustrations of the Doctrine of Total Depravity." Verily, it becometh Dr. Coit to be earnest in his eulogies of the Earl of Strafford and of Archbishop Laud.*

* He finds another argument of the wickedness of the Puritans in the wilfulness of their discontent; which, both as a testimony and as an argument, is very amusing. He interweaves it here, on his 69th page; "I know not the people beneath the

Dr. Coit continues his justification of the severities practised by the Church of England (p. 71). "The Church of England was in the field before them [the Puritans]. "This Church, then, had the right, the vested right of possession. It had, what a Puritan taste so much desired to see confirmed by Charter." "What right can be pretended by these men, to attempt innovations in Church and State?" "But these self-satisfied advocates of liberty and equality were nothing daunted by such considerations," "and" "when even force and cunning fail," "they abandon England in vexation, to play their favorite game on a more open theatre—oh, they are persecuted by those caterpillars of the world, who consume yearly twenty-five hundred or three thousand pounds," and fly in pious horror from their father-land, for "*a purely religious cause*" (p. 72).

DR. COIT CONTRADICTS THE PILGRIMS TO THEIR FACE.

Not content with assigning his own "Reasons for the erection of a Puritan economy on American soil," Dr. Coit (p. 104) sets himself to contradict the reasons assigned by the Puritans themselves. Here he pitches battle with Morton, "the prim apologetic secretary" of the Plymouth Colony—"a Puritan indeed, in whom there is no Churchmanship at all,"—who published his "Memorial" in 1669. Whoever will take the trouble to compare the five reasons of Morton with those assigned by Governors Bradford and Winslow (both among the most prominent actors in the scenes in question), will find, that Morton takes his reasons wholly from Gov. Bradford's history, and from Winslow's "True Grounds or cause of the first planting of New England," and, for the most part, in their precise words. Dr. Coit either did not know, or else he did not see fit to disclose the *fact*, that he is here setting himself to contradict by argument, the statements of the very actors of the events in question; and that, too, of men whose word is unimpeached and unimpeachable.

The sum of the reasons assigned by Bradford and Winslow, and repeated by Morton, is: "The hardness of the place"—"few of their friends in England could come to them—and fewer that would bide it out, and continue with them." "For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their sun, so zealous for their peculiar habits, institutions, and privileges," "as New Englanders—not the people who would sooner resent or repel any encroachment on their freedom, as they understand it, not the people, who would more stoutly, fiercely, unshrinkingly, unfailingly defend it (true freedom or false) to the utmost impulse of strength, and the latest beat of the heart. South Carolina has had her Nullification, and New England her Hartford Convention; but having lived in a Southern state as well as in a Northern one, I am free to say, that if rebellion must come, my most earnest prayer would be, Let it not be among the posterity of the Puritans. The little finger of rebellion there would be thicker than the loins of nullification elsewhere." "And this makes me think, that the government of England must have had a struggle of dread anxiety with those who have transmitted Puritan tempers and principles to our distant times."

You are right there, Dr. Coit, there is some Puritan blood left in us; and that is "*a Fact*." The Puritan Principles are those of men who know their rights, and knowing, dare defend them.

purity, and the liberty of the Gospel with them, yet, alas! they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure those hardships; yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland.”—(*Bradford, in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims,* p. 45.)

Again, “Old age began to come on some of them; and their great and continual crosses and sorrows hastened it before the time; so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years they were in danger to scatter by necessity pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both:” * “and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any could be found.”—(*Bradford.*)

Again, “As necessity was a task-master over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sort to their dearest children.” “For many of their children, that were of the best dispositions”—“willing to bear part of their parents’ burden, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy burden”—“that their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their very youth.” Then there was “the licentiousness of the youth in the country,” some of their children “were drawn away by evil examples”—“some became soldiers, others took them upon long voyages by sea.” Winslow adds; “How grievous it was to live from under the protection of the State of England; how like we were to lose our language and our name of English; how little good we did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as we ourselves had received.” He adds also the desire of showing these friends—“no less burdened” than themselves, where they might comfortably subsist, and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from the anti-christian bondage, keep their names and nation, and be not only a means to enlarge the dominions of the State, but the Church of Christ also.* Bradford adds another reason, and a nobler sentiment was never expressed by man: “Lastly (and that which was not the least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing of so great a work.”

Such is the sum of the reasons copied by Morton, and which Dr. Coit sets himself to contradict.

Now, it may safely be left to any mortal, in whose breast there is one emotion of generosity, or of love either of country, of freedom, of truth, or of the cause of religion,—to determine whether here are not ample and praiseworthy motives assigned, why men, who had already suffered losses, exile, and poverty, for conscience sake—should remove, to find a home where they might still retain their character of Englishmen, and secure for themselves and for their posterity, freedom to worship God.

But Dr. Coit appears to be incapable of appreciating any such motives.†

* In *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 282.

† This inability may be, in part, “natural:” for Dr. Coit (p. 232) deems it a matter of sufficient importance, to tell us the origin of his “Episcopal blood.”

He does not think it possible that men, under such circumstances, can have such a regard for conscience, for their posterity, and the cause of true religion! Oh—no; he cannot find it in his heart to imagine that such motives could have operated. In his view, nothing but wilfulness, ambition, and money-making can account for the conduct of the Pilgrims. For twenty-six pages of his work, he sets himself to ridicule these reasons, and to show that they cannot possibly be the true ones. He ridicules their notions of the Sabbath, and their efforts to persuade the Dutch to keep holy the Sabbath day: affirms that the "Dutch did not neglect the Sabbath," though "doubtless" they "were as liberal" as those other "Continental Protestants," who—like "Calvin," allow "old men" to "play at bowls," and "young men to train on the Sabbath." The hardships endured by the Pilgrims in Holland he turns off with a sneer: "There were sorrows connected with their pockets, and their palates, more terrible than the sorrows of a harassed conscience, to the Puritans at Leyden" (p. 111). As to their losing the name and language of English, Dr. Coit says, "Become Dutch? Well, what if they did, could it be such a formidable disaster?" As to enlarging the bounds of the British State, Dr. Coit says, "And must it be my iron fate to keep a perfectly sober countenance, under such argumentation as this, recorded, as it no doubt was, with edifying sedateness?" No doubt it was so recorded; for Winslow, from whom Morton copies it, was no trifler nor scoffer. Dr. Coit may not be able to appreciate such motives; but every heart capable of feeling one throb of patriotism, will be able to appreciate them. Bradford's last reason, he parries with a charge of simple bigotry upon "these bending down pilgrims," willing "to be made stepping-stones for their betters."

Having thus disposed of these reasons, and shown, as he supposes, that they cannot be the true ones, he adds two other reasons, which he declares contained the real motives that induced the Leyden Pilgrims to sail to America.

DR. COIT'S REASONS, WHY THE PILGRIMS SAILED FROM HOLLAND.

The first of these is (p. 123), "*That the Puritans in Holland were not harmonious among themselves, and therefore it became desirable for them to separate.*" Now, if this has any pertinency to the subject in hand, it means that the *Leyden* Pilgrims were not harmonious among themselves. If there is any truth established, beyond the possibility of successful question; if there

His Quaker ancestor married a daughter of Dea. J. B., of Scituate. "To this match there had been several objections, the Quakers disapproving of his marrying out of the society, and the Congregationalists of his marrying into theirs." "However, the sanguine temperament of ——— was not to be foiled, and he is said to have addressed the young woman, in the presence of her family, in the following words: 'Ruth, let us break away from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion, and thou shalt give up thine, and we will go to the Church of England, and go to the D——l together.' They fulfilled this resolution, adds my annalist, so far as going to the Church of England during life."

The amount of this is, that Dr. Coit is descended from ancestors of very loose principles in religion, and hence his "Episcopal blood."

is any matter of fact pertaining to this history,—which one who pretends to have been over the ground, is inexcusable for not knowing—it is the fact of the uninterrupted and precious harmony that always subsisted among the Leyden Puritans. A writer, whose name figures in Dr. Coit's book as one of his authorities (Robert Baylie), had ventured, in the days of the Pilgrims, to make the assertion which Dr. Coit has now revived, concerning the divisions among the Leyden Puritans. Edward Winslow gave the following answer to this aspersion. It is "alleged (though upon a great mistake) by a late writer, that division or disagreement in the Church of Leyden was the occasion, nay cause, of the first plantation in New England; for, saith the author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to New England, and began the plantation at Plymouth"—"as if the foundation of our New England plantations had been laid upon division or separation, *than which nothing is more untrue*. For I persuade myself, never people on earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly than we, the Church at Leyden, did,* not rashly, in a distracted humor, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer."

So Bradford says, in his Dialogue; "They lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love; and so they continued, until with mutual consent they removed into New England."—*In Young's Chronicles*.

So, this first reason alleged by Dr. Coit is proved to be no reason at all, but an inexcusable untruth.

His other reason he himself appears to regard as a rather queer one. "And now," says he (p. 128), "for * * the last reason. It reminds me, in *name* at least, of what the lawyers call the '*negative pregnant*'"—"It is this; *The Pilgrims did not sail for New England because they were persecuted.*"

Not persecuted! Is it possible that there is a mistake about this,—that the Pilgrims were plundered, fined, imprisoned in England, and scarcely escaped to Holland? Oh! no, that is all true, nor was it possible for them to return to England without suffering like persecution again. What then can Dr. Coit mean by saying that "the Pilgrims did not sail for New England because they were persecuted?" Oh—that they were not persecuted in *Holland*! Dr. Coit even *proves* that they went "of their own free choice and motion."

And now hear with what indignation he breaks forth upon the Plymouth Rock orators, and others, who pretend that the Pilgrims were driven by persecution to America—"With what sort of countenance, then, can an honest chronicler, or a truthful orator, look at Plymouth Rock as the first American foothold for harried victims of persecution? Why does the cry rise, louder

* Baylie; one of Dr. Coit's chief authorities, a name which figures largely through his book: but an author whose mistakes and misrepresentations were so thoroughly exploded by Winslow and Cotton ("Way of the New England Churches") that, for nearly two centuries, they have, by the verdict of the world, been consigned to a dishonored grave. Dr. Coit has once more disinterred this mass of rottenness, and—for the benefit of the Church, and at the call of her bishops and clergy,—brought it forth in his bosom, as a sweet smelling savor, to the world

if anything than ever, from New England Societies?"—(stand from under, Leonard Bacon! stand from under, Mr. Senator Choate!)—"orations, songs, and dinner tables. The Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, fugitives, escaping for actual life from persecution?" "Shame upon such misrepresentation! by the solemn testimony of facts, and their own lips, they did not! And yet the cry is undiminished, and the speech, and the lyric, and the feast, go their annual round."

Who ever supposed, or asserted, that the Pilgrims were persecuted in *Holland*? Who does not know that they fled thither from persecution in *England*? Has anybody, under the wide canopy of heaven, ever affirmed, that the Pilgrims were persecuted in Holland? How childish Dr. Coit's cry of shame? What a paltering—what a childish paltering—unworthy of a school-boy—is his solemn denial that the Pilgrims "sailed for New England because they were persecuted?" What a sheer—inexcusable misrepresentation is that, which charges orators and New England Societies with affirming that the Pilgrims fled from persecution in Holland? And last of all, how supremely ridiculous is this "negative pregnant" reason, why the Pilgrims *did* sail from Holland to America?

I cannot fear that Dr. Coit's "facts" in this matter, or his reasons, will have any weight at all against the straightforward declarations of Bradford and Winslow. But I do suppose that they may possibly create no very favorable impressions as to Dr. Coit's own tact in logic and in history, to say nothing about the moral qualities which incapacitate him from appreciating the motives assigned by the Puritans, for leaving Holland.

HE DENIES THE SUFFERINGS OF THE PILGRIMS.

Dr. Coit is in such a humor of denying the commonly received history, and so bent not only upon destroying the character of the Pilgrims, but also of cutting them off from all share in our sympathies, that he takes it upon him to deny their *sufferings* in New England. "The current version of their *romance*," says he, *p.* 137, "is, that their sufferings in New England were almost intolerable."* This he denies on the authority of Gorges; and adds, "This account mars the poetry and sinks the pathos of the scheme for leaving Holland; but it is too simple, sensible, self-consistent, and disinterested, to be otherwise than true."—"Puritan fancy, Puritan rhymes, Puritan orators, and Puritan historians, may put a fairer and more spiritual representation upon these unpoetic facts, but the plain unvarnished statement of Gorges will always look a hundred fold more like the naked, natural truth."

One knows not which the most to wonder at, the heartlessness or the brazen presumption with which this denial of the sufferings of the Pilgrims is put

* "And much poetry and rhetoric too is often wasted (says Dr. Coit, *p.* 14), upon the sufferings which the Puritans first endured from the inhospitable clime and soil of young New England. Many a sentimental eye sees nothing but parched corn upon their table, and an avalanche of snow upon their roof. Gorges admits, that when they landed at Plymouth, many of them were weak and feeble. But he goes on to say, 'they were not many days ashore before they had gotten both health and strength.'"

forth. Why grant it, that the very journals of the Pilgrims are unworthy of credit; journals in which, in the simplest language, they relate how one half their number died in the first five months, "the greatest part in the dead of winter, when there were not well ones enough to tend the sick," or scarcely to bury the dead:—how in subsequent times, Winslow relates—"I have seen strong men stagger for want of food." I say, even granting that these Pilgrims were such liars that their journals and letters are not to be trusted;—I would not even then forbear to cry out—For shame Dr. Coit!—Does not even nature teach you, that one hundred men, women and children, coming three thousand miles over a stormy ocean, in one little ship of one hundred and eighty tons, with all their supplies,—and supplies for the crew on their return voyage,—and landing in the depth of winter on the shore of a measureless wilderness, absolutely beyond the reach of all human aid,—without a hut, or shelter, or hearth—save such as their scanty tools shall fabricate out of the materials yielded by the forest:—and that too when they are weary and wayworn, and many of them entirely disabled by sickness from their first landing:—does not even nature teach you, that their sufferings must be "almost intolerable?" What heart have you,—for any shame, what *front* have you, to deny it; and to pour out upon people in that condition, such unfeeling ribaldry about their pretended sufferings?

"BROWNIISM" AND "UTTER EXCLUSIVENESS" OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH.

On pp. 38, 39, Dr. Coit labors with great heat, to prove that the "New England Puritans are descended"—from the Brownists;—that "Brownists they were up to that ultimate hour of their European existence;—that "they never departed from one of *Brownism's worst peculiarities*, ITS UTTER EXCLUSIVENESS." "Like that charter," says he, "it fastens upon them as indelibly as the brand of the actual cautery." Here he cites "a Presbyterian witness," in these words: "What tenets are held by the Independents of New England? They reckon all Reformed churches, except themselves, profane and unclean." Now, this, of course, cannot be true of Higginson, Winthrop, and their companions; who, up to the last hour of their European existence, had never separated from the English Church. It was Higginson, who, standing on the deck of the ship, and taking his last look of his native land, said, "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say, Farewell Babylon, farewell Rome; but we will say, Farewell dear England, Farewell the Church of God in England." "We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England." It was Winthrop and his company, who, in 1630, in their address "to the rest of their brethren in the Church of England," used that expression which Dr. Coit loves so frequently to quote;—they called the Church of England their "Dear Mother." These, therefore, were no Brownists, in the sense of separation and exclusiveness, which Dr. Coit intends.*

* Here, again, occurs another of Dr. Coit's innumerable perversions. He says, "Mr. Young, the compiler of the *Chronicles*, knows well enough, that to claim *some* of the Puritans as his ecclesiastical ancestry, would be to boast a pedigree that would do him no honor. And so he vainly enters the *caveat*, that the Plymouth

As to the Plymouth colonists, the charge of Dr. Coit, concerning their "utter exclusiveness," and their "remaining Brownists up to the last hour of their European existence," is utterly untrue. Such a story was early circulated by the calumniators of the Leyden colony, but the colonists not only declared it an "*aspersion*," but by a long array of indisputable *facts*, amply proved their declaration true. Says Gov. Winslow (and he is quite as good authority as Dr. Coit's "Presbyterian witness," who had no personal knowledge of the facts), "Some say, the Church of Plymouth, which went first from Leyden, were schismatics, *Brownists*, rigid separatists, having Mr. Robinson for their pastor, who made, and to the last professed, separation from other churches of Christ, &c. And the rest of the churches in New England, holding communion with that Church, are reputed to be such as they are."

This Gov. Winslow declares an "*aspersion*." As to Mr. Robinson, he says, "I living three years under his *ministry*, before we began the work of plantation in New England, it was always against separation from any of the churches of Christ; professing and holding communion with most of the French and Dutch churches, yea, tendering it to the Scotch also."*

"The Church of Leyden made no schism or separation from the Reformed churches." "As for the Dutch, it was usual for our members * * * * to communicate with them." Yea, at this very instant—Moses Symonson; * * * * because he is a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leyden, is admitted into church-fellowship at Plymouth, in New-England, * * * * and other Dutch, also in communion at Salem." He notices instances, by name, of individual members of the French Churches, and of the Walloons, who were received into communion with the church at Plymouth, "*by virtue of communion of churches*:" which has continued, down to the present day, the universal practice of all the Puritan Churches. Winslow further adduces the parting counsel of Mr. Robinson, in which he exhorted them by "all means, to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, a mere nickname, and brand to make religion odious." This Dr. Coit, with his usual perversion, endeavors to convert into a proof-positive, that they were at

Puritans (alas for Boston, Salem, and New Haven!) are the ONLY ONES who merit the name of Pilgrim. But the demurrer will not save his precarious cause."

Now, this is said as though Mr. Young were warily entering a *caveat*, lest he should be considered as descended from Brownists; and as though Mr. Young feared that the charge might lie against all, save the Plymouth colonists,—which is in no respect the case. The Massachusetts colonists never had been Brownists, as Mr. Young well knew, and as Dr. Coit well knows, provided he knows anything about the subject, as he ought to know. Mr. Young has no manner of reference to any such thing as Dr. Coit pretends; but is simply writing the historical fact, that the name "*PILGRIM*" strictly belongs to the Plymouth colonists alone, as they were the only ones who sojourned in a foreign land previous to their coming to America. Dr. Coit says, "Let his claim be granted,—the claim will not save his precarious cause,"—for (he argues) "even the Plymouth colonists were Brownists:"—implying that Mr. Young's cause had been, to save himself the dishonor of being ranked, as a descendant of the Brownist colonists of Massachusetts!

* In Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 387.

that time Brownists; "They are implored not to be Brownists," says he. Mr. Robinson does not implore them "not to be" Brownists (Mr. Winslow has already proved that they were not), but "to shake off the name," which their enemies unjustly put upon them.

VIPERS FASTENING ON APOSTOLIC HANDS.

But Dr. Coit here brings in the Puritans of the present day, for a share of the castigation which he is bestowing upon their fathers. He continues (p. 39), "The name, indeed, of Brownism was abandoned;—but its spirit—alas its spirit! even at this distant day, do not its *vipers* come out of many a heat to fasten on *Apostolic Hands*?" Gentle reader, can you conjecture who this *Apostle* is, whose hands are, at the present day, so infested with *vipers*? "I here allude," says Dr. Coit, "among other things, to the harsh assaults upon the present Bishop of Connecticut, for a charge delivered, in the ordinary course of duty, to the clergy of his own diocese—a prelate who has meekness enough (if it could be imputed to them) to make amiable even the reviewers in the testy New Englander."

It is time that Dr. Coit should know, that we regard the "present Bishop of Connecticut" as no Apostle. A charge *published to the world*, aiming, by its very title, to assail the faith of all other churches around him, and applying to them unsparingly, the odious epithets of "dissenters," "incongruous sects," concerning whom, as compared with the Episcopal Church, the Bishop says, "Surrounded by all this desolation, the Protestant Episcopal Church appears as an oasis in the desert;"—a *charge*, perverting and misrepresenting the doctrines of the churches around him, ridiculing "the Bible alone" as a "standard of faith," and setting up the interpretations of the *Church*, as the only safe authority:—I say such a charge, so published to the world, cannot be deemed a matter simply in the discharge of the Bishop's ordinary duty, nor simply a matter between him and his Presbyters, with which (as Dr. Coit insinuates) nobody else has a right to interfere. When the Bishop has put forth to the world these anti-christian doctrines (as we deem them) concerning the rule of faith, and made these assaults upon the faith and order of our churches; we deem it no breach of decorum, or of Christian charity, to deal with such assaults and misrepresentations, as their atrocity deserves. If Dr. Coit, for this, sees fit to call us "*Vipers*," that come out of the heat, "to fasten upon *Apostolic hands*," we will conclude that he has no better answer to give.

THE "UTTERLY EXCLUSIVE" CHURCH

But what is all this to the charge of "utter exclusiveness?" Is utter exclusiveness such a sin in Dr. Coit's eyes? Does he know, then, of a church, which claims to be "the only true church," which utterly refuses to acknowledge any other bodies of Christians, as churches at all; and which "utterly excludes," and denounces all other ministers as no ministers, but as sons of "Korah, Dathan, and Abiram?" Does he know a church one of whose Presbyters recently put forth, with the knowledge and sanction of his "meek" bishop, a tract, showing the impropriety and sin of Episcopalians joining in commu-

nion, or attending public worship with other denominations? Does he know of a church, whose convention, with their bishop at their head, not long since, solemnly advised all churchmen, where they were too few to maintain public worship by themselves, to withdraw from the worship of other denominations, and seclude themselves in their private households? Does he know of any such church? If not, let him know, that there is *one* church (denomination) in New England (besides the Popish), whose "utter exclusiveness" entirely fulfils the description of his "Presbyterian witness;"—"They reckon all Reformed Churches, except themselves, profane and unclean." All Reformed Churches, I say: they hold the Church of Rome as a sister, or a mother. How strange it would be, if it should turn out that Dr. Coit, after all his outcry about "utter exclusiveness," had actually betaken himself to the embraces of that very church!

ACT OF UNIFORMITY AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

On p. 64, Dr. Coit says, "The Act of Uniformity—O the Act of Uniformity, consummated on that awful day of the month, the 24th of August, when the Huguenots were massacred in France,—that direful, desolating act, which thrust two thousand 'godly and painful' ministers from their comfortable livings," &c.—"Two thousand 'godly and painful' ministers dispossessed of their livings? Why, the Puritans themselves dispossessed probably *ten thousand* of the ministers of the Church of England. These two thousand also, were interlopers,—not even ecclesiastical squatters, as we Americans would say—absolute interlopers, who had driven away the lawful shepherds of the flock, and were covering themselves with the fleece full warmly. The ministers of the Church of England were the real victims of banishment; and the Act of Uniformity was but an act of simple justice, to give them back their own."

These "facts" of Dr. Coit need a little sifting. He says the Puritans dispossessed probably *ten thousand* ministers of the Church of England. His authority, "Walker," sets it down in round numbers at *eight thousand*. In the actual list at the end of his book he makes out a little more than *one fifth of that number*." Among his cathedral clergy he reckons up several prebends, and canonries, in which he supposes sufferers without any evidence. Of this sort Dr. Calamy has reckoned above two hundred.*

Where a clergyman was possessed of half a dozen benefices, more or less, Walker reckons him as half a dozen men. "For example, Richard Stuart, LL.D., is set down as a sufferer in the deanery of St. Paul's,"* * "St. Pancras—both prebendary and residentiary,"—"in the deanery and prebend of the third stall in Westminster," "royal chapel," "provostship of Eton College," and "prebend of Northalton in the church of Salisbury." So Richard Stuart, LL.D., counts seven. Walker's list underwent some scrutiny in its day. "An exact computation," made in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire, in which there were 1398 parishes, "showed that there were 253 sequestrations." Similar examinations elsewhere showed that Walker's list was greatly exaggerated.

* Neale.

Dr. Coit says of the Puritan ministers, that they were "absolute interlopers, who had driven away the shepherds of the flock." The fact was, that the ejected church-clergy were such as had been, by an ordinance of both houses of parliament, upon trial, turned out of their livings for being "scandalous in their lives, ill-affected to the parliament, fomenters of this unnatural war," or for having "deserted their cures." The "interlopers" were such as were "*chosen by the parishioners*," and inducted into office after careful examination, both of character and qualifications, by the constituted tribunals.

Neale says with regard to Walker's list, that "when such were deducted as were fairly convicted upon oath of *immoralities of life*, * * * and all such as *took part with the king in the war*, or *disowned the authority of parliament*; preaching up doctrines inconsistent with the cause for which they had taken arms, and exciting the people to an absolute submission to the authority of the crown, the remainder that were displaced * * * must be very inconsiderable."*

Baxter says, "They cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous clergy, and some few civil men that had acted in the wars for the king, * * * but left in near half of those that were but barely tolerable;"—and that "in all the counties in which he was acquainted, six to one, at least, if not more, that were sequestered by the committee, were, by the oaths of witnesses, proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both."

Dr. Coit says, "The act of Uniformity was but an act of simple justice, to give them back their own." An act of simple justice, designed simply to give ousted clergymen their own, would have turned out simply the "interlopers," and simply restored the injured to their rights. The act of Uniformity did neither; and was designed for no such end. It made no distinction between interlopers and such as had been established in the ministry before the wars. It proceeded upon no such principle, but upon driving from the ministry all such as would not observe an exact conformity, and subscribe their "unfeigned assent and consent" to everything contained in, and prescribed by, The Book of Common Prayer; or who would not take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and declare their assent to the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. The sufferings of the church-clergy, as says one of their own number, "were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion, so that the plundering and ravaging endured by the church ministers, were owing, many of them at least, to the rudeness of the soldiers and the chances of war; they were plundered, not because they were Conformists, but cavaliers, and of the king's party."

Dr. Coit's "interlopers," worse even than "ecclesiastical squatters," were such men as Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Baxter, Newcomen, Calamy, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Corbet, Mead, Howe, Vincent, Flavel, Philip Henry, and others of like character, though less known to fame. If the reader will turn to the biography of any in this list, he will observe that they were not, even in Dr. Coit's sense, "interlopers" or "squatters," but, in most cases, ministers of the most regular stamp, even before the times of the civil war.

* Vol. ii., p. 262.

† In Calamy's Church and Dissenter—Neale, ii., p. 263.

KING CHARLES II.

Dr. Coit not only eulogizes Archbishop Land, and the Apocrypha,* but takes into his special protection the character of Charles II. (*pp.* 37, 54, and elsewhere). "The same king" [Charles II.] "laughed at, sneered at, and denounced as he has been a thousand times, by Puritans." On *p.* 37 Dr. Coit says, referring to the good deeds of Charles II., "There may be mercy in the day of judgment, for those who could not find it here."† Doubtless this is a charitable sentiment; but its design here, is to raise some doubts in favor of the real character of King Charles II. If Dr. Coit means to express a doubt, whether the unbelieving and profane, perjurers, drunkards, liars, and adulterers shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, let him know that the word of God is decisive against such an allowance of charity. Charles II. through his whole life was all that: given to lewdness and lying, an adulterer, a drunkard, a perjurer; nor is there any evidence that he ever was reformed, or ever repented.‡ He had thirteen children by his seven mistresses, whom he kept at different times, to the end of his life. This was but a part of his irregularities in this way. "He told me," says Bishop Burnet, that "he could not think God would make a man miserable, only for taking a little pleasure out of the way." The Bishop adds, "He seemed to have no sense of religion."§

Bishop Burnet says, also, that the "restoration of the king" was followed by "the throwing off of the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which ran over the three kingdoms, * * * * there were great disorders and much riot everywhere."* Says the editor of Burnet's History of his Life and Times, "If the character of Charles II. had to be summed up in three appellations, they might justly be, wit, hypocrite, and profligate." Living thus in adultery and debauchery, a scoffer at all religion, given to profanity and lying, and withal, a persecutor unto blood,—as the "Tales of the Scottish Covenanters" unfold in narratives of horror, "after having," says Bishop Burnet, "disguised his Popery to the last, on his death

* He quotes frequently from the Apocrypha, "And moreover," says he, *p.* 316, "the earlier and less rabid Puritans always treated the Apocrypha with courtesy," * * * * "I may be pardoned for saying thus much on this incidental matter; since the use of the Apocrypha was, in a Puritan view, a crying sin of the Church of England, and of the sternly Calvinistic Dutch Church."

† He gave Dr. Owen a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities, and yet his recompense was, to be called "a profligate tyrant," *p.* 37. Wonderful liberality of King Charles II.! Just as though, when a villain has burnt my house, and spoiled my goods, and continues to shut me out, as far as lies in his power, from all means of livelihood, my neighbors are bound to praise him for his goodness, because he has once given me a sixpence in charity.

‡ "He could not help letting himself out," says Burnet, "against the liberty, that, under the reformation, all men took of inquiring into matters of religion, for . . . they carried the humor farther, to inquire into matters of state. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing, where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicit."

§ Life and Times, Lond. Ed., 1839, pp. 60, 61.

bed he sent for a Popish priest to give him 'absolution and extreme unction.' The Protestant Bishop Ken, when the king was in the agonies of death, pressed him to take the sacrament from him, which the king declined. "Ken pressed him to declare that he died in the communion of the Church of England. To that he answered nothing. Ken asked him if he desired absolution of his sins. It seems the king, if he then thought anything at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So Ken pronounced it over him; for which he was much blamed, since the king expressed no sense of sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment."

Thus died King Charles II., his last care, and his last words about his misdeeds: and there stood Bishop Ken, presenting one of the king's illegitimate children to be blessed by him. Of his sins, of Christ, of eternity, the king spoke not, save once he said he "hoped he should climb up to heaven's gates;" "which," says Bishop Burnet, "was the only word savoring of religion that he was heard to speak."

SUFFERINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHMEN.

Dr. Coit has a chapter or two, about the persecutions suffered by the early New England Churchmen. Those who are acquainted with the Episcopal claims of the present day, will scarcely need history to enable them to form some idea of the bearing of the Churchmen of those times, when they could look back to the mother country, with the hope that her power would yet give them the kingdom and the dominion here. The sentence which Dr. Coit quotes from Bancroft, shows the views of that historian on this point, *p.* 187: "But now, the apparent purpose of advancing religious freedom, was made to disguise measures of the deadliest hostility to the frame of civil government. *The Nationality of New England was in danger.*" Can we wonder that those who had retreated three thousand miles, to a wilderness, for the sake of religious freedom, should be somewhat jealous for its preservation? The Puritans justly feared that the success of the prelatists would be destruction to their own civil and religious liberties. Dr. Coit quotes another sentence from President Quincy, concerning the bearing of the Churchmen (*p.* 206): "Their proceedings indicate a spirit sufficiently lofty and determined; excluding from their records all recognition of the authorities of Massachusetts, not even referring to the Colony by name, they laid hold of the horns of the transatlantic altar, and placed their society under the shadow of the sceptre of the monarch." Dr. Coit also quotes (*p.* 207), the Address of the "Rector and Wardens of King's Chapel," Boston, sent to the King in 1691, in which they speak of the Colonial government, as "a disloyal, prevailing party amongst us, who, under pretence of the public good, design nothing but ruin to us and the whole country."

Dr. Coit also has a chapter (*p.* 260), on the "*Puritanic Efforts to defeat an American Episcopate.*" Can we wonder at this? The Churchmen, on both sides of the water, were perpetually plotting to establish an Episcopate over these colonies. All parties well knew, that Lord Bishops once established here under the British government, would have had, even by common law, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, including all causes matrimonial and testamentary, over the

whole people. The question of the establishment of an American Episcopate was a question of life or death to all the immunities and liberties which the Pilgrims sought, in coming across the ocean. Can the *people* be blamed for looking to a matter thus deeply affecting their own rights, and not simply pertaining to the Episcopalians alone? What would not an American Episcopate have done *then*, when, even at this late day, it claims "every inch of the ground," and denounces the ministers of all other churches, as sons of Korah?

PURITANIC TREATMENT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

On p. 361, Dr. Coit has a chapter on the "Puritanic treatment of the Presbyterians." Glancing over its pages, the reader will observe its character by such expressions as these—"Intolerance towards Presbyterianism."—"Congregationalism was as good as its word. . . . Its rival was routed from the land." Having raked up what *old* offences were to be found, Dr. C. says (p. 390), "And at last the question came up before me, *can I not put my finger on something which displays the belligerent aspect of Puritanism and Presbyterianism in the times amid which we actually live?*"

In great distress for some hard thing to say, by hard raking, Dr. Coit does at length find something, that, after a sort, answers his purpose. "If, thought I," says he, "the testimony I want, cannot be found in the cross fire of the Theological Review, . . . and the Christian Spectator, . . . then, . . . I make a strange guess." "To that Review I went, and . . . discovered a criticism upon a volume which has not escaped some comments of my own—the Historical Discourses of Mr. Leonard Bacon." From this, Dr. Coit proves indubitably, "how little love is lost between the old litigants; and how, in fact, the breach has widened."

Well, if the breach has *widened*, the ancient breach could have been no great affair. Says Dr. Coit again (p. 374), "Many weakly suppose that Puritanism and Presbyterianism are identical. They have yet to learn, and perhaps to their cost, that genuine Presbyterianism has not had a deadlier foe."

Now, it is very true, that in old times there was some foolish sparring between Congregationalists and Presbyterians. But since the peace, which "was patched up between the Independents and Presbyterians in England, in 1690, and their concordat adopted for all that it was worth in the Colony of Connecticut," as says Dr. Coit (p. 390), the words of Cotton Mather have been amply verified in the history of the two denominations. The words of Mather are these: "The brethren of the Presbyterian way in England, are lately come into such a happy *union* with those of the Congregational, that all former names of distinction are lost in that one of United Brethren. As Dr. Coit well knows, those "HEADS OF AGREEMENT, BY THE UNITED MINISTERS, FORMERLY CALLED PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL," constitute a part of our "SAYBROOK PLATFORM." This treaty of peace is, therefore, one of the fundamental laws of the land, in our part of what Dr. Coit is pleased to name "PURITANIA,"—otherwise called New England. The Presbyterians, so far from being "routed from the land" (New England), still possess two entire Presbyteries* within our borders; the descendants of the early Presbyterian

* Londonderry and Newburyport.

settlers, who still preferred the Presbyterian organization. Dr. Coit should remember that the First Presbyterian Church in the city of New York (and that not long ago), was built in no small part by the funds contributed by the Congregational Churches of Connecticut. He should remember the *Plan of Union*, for mingling Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements. He should remember, that though one part of the Presbyterian body chooses rather to dispense with that arrangement, yet there still subsists between them and us, an unbroken harmony, and the most cordial esteem. The other parts of the Presbyterian family are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Our ministers and church members, as Providence changes their habitation, never hesitate reciprocally to unite with each other's churches, as though both denominations were one. We both have our preferences; and when occasion calls, we can both manfully defend our peculiarities; but our mutual toleration, esteem, and hearty good-will, are unbroken. God grant that it may be unbroken for ever. Dr. Coit may cease his efforts in this quarter; he will certainly lose his labor in endeavoring to stir up a dissension between us and our more than neighbors—the Presbyterians.

But I must bring this review to a close; not for lack of materials, but from dislike to the sort of work; more errors and misrepresentations than I have exposed, yet remain; but he who would duly clear them all away, the same might cleanse the stables of Augeas. I close with commending one or two things to the notice of Dr. Coit's brethren,

THE LOW CHURCHMEN.

The first is, to those good evangelical clergymen, who, after having done good service, have at length been made Bishops. What need there may be, I know not; but it may do them no harm to look in Dr. Coit's glass. Says Dr. Coit (p. 382), "But then, as was natural, these low-church Puritans in New England, finding themselves here at the head of affairs *like a low Churchman when made a Bishop, turned a somerset, and came up high Churchmen of the tallest sort.*"

The second thing may be especially commended to the notice of the evangelical party in the Church, and especially of that good Bishop, who not long since wrote several pamphlets against Puseyism, entitled "*The Novelties which disturb our peace.*" The good Bishop will see that his *evangelism* is the troubler; and that it bears, in Dr. Coit's eyes, a pretty close resemblance to Puritanism. Says Dr. Coit, after speaking of Tertullian, and saying that Tertullian was no doubt somewhat Puritanical, and was "classed" by "the Catholic Church among the heretics,"—"a pretty fair proof that Puritanism was then, as afterwards, one of the '*Novelties which disturb our peace.*'"*

* On p. 276, Dr. Coit has a cut at the "Puritanism" of the excellent author of "*The Mysteries opened.*" "Much rather," says Dr. C., "would I endure the reproaches of the New Englander, than enjoy such equivocal praise as it bestows on the author of the '*Mysteries opened.*' Unblessed are all those plaudits which are given to one's intellect, at the expense of his consistency." . . . "A single clear '*Well done,*' of conscience, is worth ten thousand of them." I take this as a pretty clear avowal that Puseyism is the only "consistent" Episcopacy.

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